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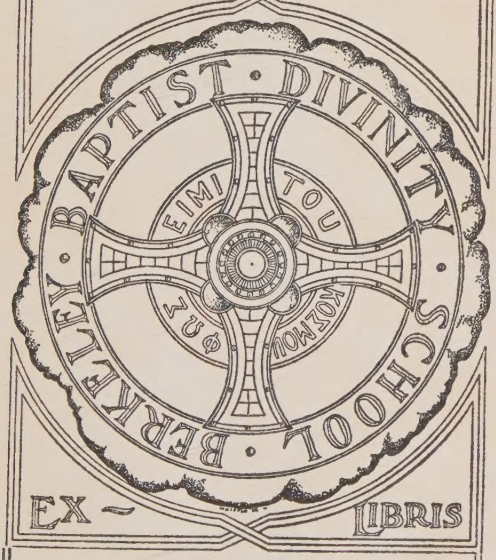

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EPISCOPACY AND UNITY

EPISCOPACY AND UNITY

A HISTORICAL INQUIRY INTO THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND AND THE NON-EPISCOPAL CHURCHES AT HOME AND ABROAD, FROM THE REFORMATION TO THE REPEAL OF THE OCCASIONAL CONFORMITY ACT

BY

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TO THE MEMORY OF MY ELDEST BROTHER

WILLIAM ARTHUR WILSON,

SOMETIME RECTOR OF SWANAGE, DORSET,

WHO LIVED IN PEACE WITH ALL WHO LOVED THE LORD

JESUS CHRIST IN SINCERITY.

48143

"I do wish and will pray for it as long as I live, that some regard may be had to those scruples, with which the Dissenters are entangled; and though I think they are not all well grounded, yet for peace' sake I wish some things may be taken away, and that other things may be softened and explained. . . . I wish the terms of communion were made larger and easier; but . . . there must be a great change in the minds both of princes and people, before that can be brought about; therefore the Dissenters ought to consider well what they can do for peace, without sinning against God."—GILBERT BURNET.

"Our controversies about religion have brought at last even religion itself into a controversy, among such whose weaker judgments have not been able to discern where the plain and unquestionable way to heaven hath lain in so great a mist as our disputes have raised among us. . . . Without all controversy, the main in-let of all the distractions, confusions, and divisions of the Christian world hath been by adding other conditions of Church communion than Christ hath done."—STILLINGFLEET.

"I am sure I have no other design but the prosecution and advantage of truth, and I may truly use the words of Gregory Nazienzen: '*Non studemus paci in detrimentum verae doctrinae,—ut facilitatis et mansuetudinis famam colligamus*'; but I have written this because I thought it was necessary, and seasonable, and charitable, and agreeable to the great precepts and design of Christianity, consonant to the practice of the Apostles, and of the best ages of the Church, most agreeable to Scripture and reason, to revelation and the nature of the thing."—JEREMY TAYLOR.

PREFACE.

THE purpose I have had before me in writing this book has been to arrive at a clear statement of the teaching and practice of our Church on the two important questions of Church government, and intercommunion with non-episcopal Churches at home and abroad. It seems that to-day there is a marked tendency to plant in the Church a narrower and more exclusive view upon both these questions than is either justified by the Church formularies or is in accordance with the practice and teaching of most of our best accredited divines since the Reformation.

The denial of the validity of all non-episcopal ministrations, the narrowing of the terms of communion, both constitute "a new thing" in Church life to-day, and my endeavour has been to show that those who would substantiate such views must loo elsewhere than to the writings and actions of the best Churchmen of days gone by.

Only slight reference has been made to the persecutions inflicted by Churchmen and Nonconformists on one another. It is a soiled page in the history of both

parties; neither can reproach the other, and no good purpose can be served by dwelling upon it.

All Christians are beginning to yearn wistfully for re-union. I frankly confess my gaze is turned to the English Nonconformist Churches. No one can fail to appreciate the serious points at issue between us, but the most serious and fundamental is really the question of the ministry. Narrow views on this subject are more productive of bitterness and separation than any other cause. No Churchman could contemplate the surrender of the ancient system of episcopacy; the suggestion is ludicrous! But at the same time it is impossible, in the light of history, to close our eyes to the fact that the origin and growth of Dissent in the past has been very largely due to episcopacy *in statu puro* having degenerated into episcopacy *in statu corrupto*. The old abuses have now been modified in all cases, and in some cases entirely rectified, but before the way can be paved to a better understanding, much more re-union with Nonconformity, the claim of exclusive validity for episcopally ordained ministers made by certain "*furiosi scriptores*" (to quote Archbishop Wake) among us must be candidly relegated to the limbo of untenable theories. If this were done then, it is not "too much to hope that at some future time a modified episcopate — an episcopate less after the mediaeval and more after the primitive type—an episcopate with more of episcopacy and less of prelacy—an episcopate thoroughly true to the principles of the Reformation—may yet be a centre of union for those who are now so sensible of disunion".

To several friends I owe a great debt of gratitude. Dr. J. B. Mayor's scholarship and ripe judgment have been constantly at my service, and the valuable criticism of Professor W. H. Griffith Thomas, Canon G. S. Streatfeild, and Rev. C. S. Carter which has been so generously given, has been of the greatest assistance to me. To Professor Dawson Walker I wish to offer my sincere thanks for his encouragement and influential help. I also wish to acknowledge the great assistance given me by Dr. J. B. Mayor and my brother, the Rev. Chas. E. Wilson, in reading through the proofs.

H. A. WILSON.

St. Bartholomew's Day, 1912.

CONTENTS.

CHAP.		PAGE
	PREFACE	vii
I.	INTRODUCTION	1
	NOTE: WAS ZWINGLI A "ZWINGLIAN"?	15
II.	REFORMED VIEW OF THE CHURCH OF CHRIST	18
III.	COMPILATION OF THE PRAYER BOOK	34
IV.	THE EXILES IN ENGLAND	44
V.	ENGLISH REFUGEES ON THE CONTINENT	61
VI.	REFORMED ORDERS IN THE ENGLISH CHURCH	69
VII.	THE BEGINNING OF DISSENT	84
VIII.	HAMPTON COURT AND AFTER	104
	NOTE: THE SYNOD OF DORT	132
IX.	MODERATE EPISCOPACY AND THE SAVOY CONFERENCE	135
X.	SCOTLAND AND IRELAND	164
XI.	RELATIONS BETWEEN CHURCHMEN AND DISSENTERS	189
	NOTE: THE RUBRIC REQUIRING CONFIRMATION	210
XII.	COMPREHENSION	215
XIII.	ARCHBISHOP SHARP AND THE PRUSSIAN LUTHERANS	235
XIV.	CONCLUSION	241
	INDEX	251

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION.

The Reformation was not a mere isolated fact in history, it was an essential stage in the evolution of modern times. Irrespective entirely of its religious bearing,[1] which was its most prominent and acute feature, it produced a mental outlook which affected the other sides of human life as well as the religious. Both intellectually and spiritually men had got into a cul-de-sac. They had taken a wrong turn somehow in the past which led nowhere, and awakened to find themselves confronted by an unscalable wall. There was nothing for it but retreat and the finding of the right path to progress and development.

If religion had not entered into the case at all, a drastic upheaval was certain to take place; for forces were at work which would not be denied. Circumstances might delay the crisis, but sooner or later the

[1] "It is inevitable that we should commonly regard the Reformation as a religious movement; but it was certainly not exclusively religious and it is perhaps true to say that it was not primarily or mainly religious. A great crisis in European thought and action would have come in the sixteenth century, not only if there had been no Luther or Zwingli or Calvin, but even if there had been no great religious problems which had been clamouring for solution for at least two centuries" (Dr. A. Plummer in "The Churchman," Vol. XXV, No. 70, p. 740).

opposition with which these forces had come into collision would be swept aside. But religion had entered into the case and it raised the inevitable conflict into the highest region. "The Mediaeval Church with its greatest products, the Papacy and Monasticism, had reached the term of its natural development. The Papacy was sinking under the weight of its own mighty claims, and had become a source of countless abuses, and even a cause of schism. Monasticism had unduly extended the claims of asceticism, and had ended in moral bankruptcy. The Church and the world longed after a new spring of life. The time had come for the Reformation of the Church in head and members." [1]

This great movement stood for progress and expansion in every direction; [2] and such a movement, even had it been possible to steer clear of the distinctly ecclesiastical ground, would still have been forced into conflict with the Church, for the Church of the period was intensely reactionary and its conservatism affected realms of thought and conditions of life which might reasonably claim to be free from its jealous control.

The causes of the Reformation were mainly threefold:—

First—intellectual. The revival of learning (consequent upon the renewed study of the Latin classics beginning in the twelfth century, and reaching its climax after the fall of Constantinople) which opened up to the western world Greek culture and philosophy, by

[1] "Sohm, "Outlines of Church History," p. 138.

[2] "It has not only been a decisive turning-point in the spiritual and moral life of the Christian Church: it serves as a great landmark in the intellectual, political, and social development of mankind." (Babington, "The Reformation," p. 1.)

itself was certain to have far-reaching results. But not only did these causes intensify learning; the discovery of printing diffused it among people who otherwise would have remained outside the educated zone.

Secondly—social. The rise of the middle class was a new phase of society entirely, and the condition of things on the Continent found a complete parallel in England. "Feudalism had perished on the field of Bosworth. The visitations of the Black Death, the gigantic agricultural labour strike under Wat Tyler and the priest Ball, and the consequent transformation of peasant serfs into a free people working for wages, had created a new England ready for the changes which were to bridge the chasm between mediaeval and modern history." [1]

A new element of this kind in society was bound to have a great effect in shaping national character. The older elements were becoming worn out and the new life was vigorous. Owing little to the past, the middle class was prone not to give due regard to the old forces. Things were looked at in a new light and judged from a utilitarian standpoint. Had it not been for the firm rule of the Tudors, the constitutional disaster of the seventeenth century would probably have occurred a hundred years earlier than it actually did. Had it not been that the Church and the King were willing to allow some scope to the radical force in religion the complete upheaval the Church of Scotland suffered would have been repeated in England.

Thirdly — religious. The Bible in the vernacular had given the people a view of God they had never had before. This was the final court of appeal in testing

[1] Lindsay, "History of the Reformation," Vol. I, p. 20.

the Church's teaching. Her *ipse dixit* would no longer suffice, and her ordinances were valued only so far as they served to the life of the soul and the better worshipping of God. This general attitude of mind came to be termed "Protestant"; a word which has been greatly mishandled lately. It is hard to see how anyone acquainted with the history of the word can speak of it as a merely negative expression. It had to pass through rivers of blood and lakes of fire, and men do not shed their blood and endure fire to establish a merely negative position. Its true antithesis is not "Catholic" (that which is truly Catholic need never join issue with Protestantism) but "Popish" or "Romish". It is not the Catholic but the Romish position which denies the right of private judgment and exalts Church authority to the rank of a fetish. On the other hand true Protestantism never depreciates the proper exercise of Church authority and historical precedent.[1]

These three mighty forces—intellectual, social, and religious—appeared synchronously, and it remained to be seen to what extent the Church was capable of dealing with the new situation.

The Papacy generally adopted an attitude of determined obscurantism, and it was due only to the persistence of the better spirits that the Reformation in its most attenuated form influenced its views. Leo X, it is true, was not an obscurantist: "he was remarkable for the polish of his manners, for his patronage of arts and

[1] At the conference held on 3 April, 1559, between the Marian bishops and the returned exiles, though these last were extreme Protestants, yet, in answer to the imputation of the bishops, they confidently asserted: "We are of the true Catholic Church and maintain the verity thereof". Cf. Wace, "Principles of the Reformation," 1910, p. 23.

learning, and the graceful brilliance of his court: yet even he . . . played the part of the voluptuous prince instead of the unworldly prelate".[1] From Adrian VI, the "reforming" pontiff, better things might have come, but he only reigned a few months.

The Council of Trent was the only offspring of the Reformation which was allowed to come to the birth in the nursery of Rome. Many great minds[2] refused to break with Rome, but yet the new learning would not be denied, and such men found themselves in an impossible position much like that of the "Modernist" of to-day. But Pope Paul IV was equal to the occasion and adopted the simple plan of putting under the ban of the Church all books which might produce the mental condition he so much feared.[3] He and his successors "resolved to destroy what they rightly enough believed to be its" (the reforming spirit's) "seed and seed-bed—the cultivation of independent thinking and of impartial scholarship".[4] But the papal ban was not entirely effective even in Italy and Spain; things had gone too far for antiquated measures of this kind to put an end to thought and progress.

The attitude of the Church generally depended largely upon the willingness, or unwillingness, of the civil rulers to allow the new force full play. Where they

[1] Hardwick, "History of the Christian Church during the Reformation," p. 5.

[2] E.g. Contarini, Sadoleti, Giberto, Caraffa, Brucioli, and Morone, who formed the Club called "The Oratory of Divine Love"; *vide* Ranke's "History of the Papacy," ed. 1840, Vol. II, pp. 135 ff.

[3] "The Benefit of Christ's Death" (1543) was issued by the "Oratory of Divine Love," and it illustrates how little the really official mind favoured such evangelical works when we note that 40,000 copies of it fell into the hands of the Inquisition.

[4] Lindsay, "History of the Reformation," Vol. II, p. 602.

were willing, the Reformation was from within the Church; where they were in opposition, the reformers were driven out and compelled to reconstitute themselves and exist as best they could.

The Reformation began to make itself definitely felt in England upon men who were, certainly at first, not conscious that its spirit had seized them. The great Oxford scholars, Colet, More, and Erasmus, had, unknowingly, started upon a path which was certain to lead them further than at first they were prepared to go. The position of these "humanists" was intellectually an illogical one. Erasmus succeeded in incurring the suspicion of both sides by successfully evading the necessity of making up his mind; the pious More met his death at Henry VIII's hands because he was unable to go as far as circumstances were forcing him; Colet died in 1519, before the crisis became acute. "The Protestant Reformation was in many respects a new movement, and not altogether a continuation of that of the Oxford Reformers." [1]

But at any rate, it is impossible to doubt that the former was the logical outcome of the latter. The Oxford reformers had caught the Protestant spirit, but, like the humanists generally, it did not vitally affect their religious outlook.

When, however, Protestantism became really aggressive in England it found the political situation distinctly favourable. For private reasons the King was at cross purposes with the Pope and saw here a splendid opportunity for annoying his enemy. Henry VIII was not a Protestant and never liked the movement, but the Pope's opposition to his matrimonial affairs so wrought

[1] Seebohm, "The Oxford Reformers of 1498," p. 426.

upon him that it ended in the denial of the Pope's authority in any of the affairs of England.[1]

This veto of papal authority was enough to secure the reformers standing-ground, and ultimately resulted in the National Church itself adopting the platform of Protestantism in all its essential points. But at the same time it must be constantly remembered that the English Church was not left free to shape its own system without any reference to outside authority. Its centre of gravity was shifted from Rome to England, but the supremacy of the Pope was exchanged for that of the King. What it gained in one way must be set off against what it lost in another. Clerical power was reduced, royal authority became supreme, and the result was that, though the Church became national in a fuller sense than it had ever been before, it became strongly Erastian.[2] It did not move blindly to awaken and find itself in this unsound position. Cranmer, for instance, conscientiously believed that the royal supremacy was in itself an excellent thing, and we have to go far down in Church history before we come upon any real, not to say effective, disapproval of the Erastian conception. But still, giving this consideration full weight, the gain was great. The English Church was henceforth English, not merely a branch of the Roman communion. Its clergy were Englishmen, appointed as a matter of fact by secular authority, but this was unspeakably better than foreigners planted in England by papal authority

[1] "Protestant theology never made its way into Henry's heart or mind. He had abolished the Pope but not popery, wrote Bishop Hooper. It would be truer to say that he had taken the place of the Pope in the English Church, and substituted a Royal for a Roman Catholicism" (Pollard, "Thomas Cranmer," p. 125).

[2] *Vide* Creighton, "Church Congress Paper, 1884".

and draining England of wealth to keep papal coffers full to overflowing.

The political side of the Reformation in England is a soiled page in the Church's history, but as already noted the King's private affairs were merely the occasion and not the cause of the great change. They expedited and made more easy a condition which would have eventuated in any case. "No king, however despotic, could have forced on such a revolution unless there was much in the life of the people that reconciled them to the change, and the evidence of this is abundantly forthcoming." [1]

"It is certain that the Reformation had virtually broken out in the secret Bible-readings of the Cambridge reformers before either the trumpet-call of Luther or the exigencies of Henry VIII's personal and political position set men free once more to talk openly against the Pope and the monks, and to teach a simpler and more spiritual Gospel than the system against which Wickliffe had striven." [2]

The Reformation made an appeal also to the patriotic instinct. The domination of England by a foreign power was bound to be distasteful to the rapidly expanding national mind, and when patriotism is placed in the scales even religion would find it hard to supply a

[1] Lindsay, "History of the Reformation," Vol. II, p. 316.

[2] "Dictionary of National Biography," Wickliffe (Art. by Rashdall) LXIII, p. 218.

"Much has been said, too much indeed, about the immediate occasions; they are obvious enough and can be easily emphasized. But the Reformation is not the result of them. The cry for reform had been becoming shriller for a century; and the causes had been accumulating for an even longer period" (Frere, "Lollardy and the Reformation," "Church Quarterly Review," Vol. LXIX, p. 427).

counterpoise. Its failure to do so was conspicuous in the Elizabethan period, when the papal policy, resulting in the coming of the Armada, compelled English Romanists to choose between Pope and Queen, between their own country and a foreign power.

So this intellectual, social, religious, and patriotic force created a new England with a new outlook in almost every direction, and a new Church with a future full of great possibilities. Though the word "new" was frequently used at the period both of the Church and also of the reformed faith, it must be understood as used in only a very loose way. Nothing was further from the minds of the leading reformers than to represent the reformed Church as in the strict sense new.[1] Not only did they claim the authority of Scripture for the line they were taking, not only did such an accredited spokesman as Jewel maintain that the corruptions to which they objected were subsequent to the first six centuries of the Christian era (so that if any Church were "new" it was the Roman), but they definitely claimed that the old life of the English Church flowed through them—that it was a reformed Church and not a new institution of which they were members.

Very briefly we must, lastly, note the condition of religion outside England at the period with which we have to deal. The whole of Western Europe had felt the impulse of the Reformation, but in very varying degrees. Persecution was so fierce that the movement was crushed out in Spain and Italy. In France it was strenuously opposed by the Sovereign, and though the

[1] Cf. "That which they call the old is the new and that which they call the new is the old" (Cranmer, "Remains," P.S. ed., p. 450).

Huguenots were numerically numerous their influence was not dominant. As the Church remained true to Rome, the Protestants were compelled to organize themselves; this they did on a Presbyterian basis practically identical with that of Geneva.

It is important to note a few of the leading features in the teaching of two or three of the most prominent figures among the Continental reformers.

The two main questions under dispute throughout the Christian world were the justification of man in God's sight and the doctrine of the Sacraments. The teaching of Rome was clear and categorical. It taught that Divine grace was conferred through the Sacraments irrespective of spiritual fitness or unfitness on the part of the recipient, provided only he placed no wilful obstacle to the reception of that grace. Luther, and with him practically the whole Protestant world, maintained that the spiritual condition of the recipient determined the value of the ordinance. The stress he laid upon justification by faith was certain to bring him to this conclusion. That is to say, instead of teaching that Sacraments were of value *ex opere operato*,[1] he maintained that they operated only through faith in the Divine promise. That they did convey grace he was emphatic, but not a grace which contributed towards justification.

It was around the Holy Communion that the strife was fiercest. Rome taught that there was in the consecrated elements a localized presence of Christ, "in such a way, that Almighty God, Who was pleased at Cana, in Galilee, to convert water into wine, changes

[1] "Si quis dixerit, per ipsa novæ legis sacramenta ex opere operato non conferri gratiam, sed solam fidem divinæ promissionis ad gratiam consequendam sufficere, anathema sit." (Concil. Trid. Sess. vii. can. viii.)

the inward substance of the consecrated bread and wine into the Body and Blood of Christ." [1]

Luther, too, taught that there was in the elements a localized presence of our Lord's Glorified Body but this did not necessitate a priestly miracle. Christ was immanent everywhere and therefore also in the sacramental elements. In a sense, we might say he taught a *natural* localized presence as opposed to the *supernatural* localized presence of the Roman Church. "Just as iron and fire, which are two distinct substances, are blended together in a red-hot iron, so that in every particle both iron and fire exist at the same time; so also, but in a far higher sense, the Glorified Body of Christ exists in every portion of the bread." Again: "the Body of Christ is in the bread, as a sword is in its sheath, or as the Holy Spirit in the dove".

On this subject Luther came into bitter conflict with Zwingli, the Swiss reformer. The latter's views were extreme, or rather are commonly so regarded, for there is good reason to suspect he has been misrepresented.[2] As commonly represented, he viewed the Sacraments as merely "ceremonies whereby a man professes himself a member of the Church and a follower of Christ".[3] They were only badges of a Christian man's profession. Consequently in the Holy Communion he would admit no sacramental presence. Christ was in Heaven, therefore He could not be also on earth, since His Body was

[1] Moehler, "Symbolism," trans. by J. B. Robertson, ed. 1906, p. 235. "Sancta hæc synodus declarat, per consecrationem panis et vini, conversionem fieri totius substantiæ panis in substantiam corporis Christi Domini nostri, et totius substantiæ vini in substantiam sanguinis ejus." (Concil. Trid. Sess. xiii, c. vi.)

[2] *Vide* Appendix at the end of this chapter.

[3] Moehler, op. cit. p. 216.

a natural body. It must be admitted that in the painful dispute at Marburg, 1529, between these two champions, Zwingli got the better of the argument. Luther had drawn the words "This is My Body" upon the cloth of the table to strengthen his faith, he said, and to serve as a notice to his adversaries. To the literal meaning of this phrase he again and again returned in a fashion more creditable to his tenacity than to his intelligence; at one time he waved it in the faces of Zwingli and Œcolampadius. "Christ," he declared, "is in the Sacrament substantially, as He was born of the Virgin." "The Body of Christ is in the Sacrament, but it is not there as in a place." This last concession was in response to a skilful thrust from Zwingli.

But a bitter argument like this served only to accentuate the differences between the two parties. Luther would scarcely acknowledge the Zwinglians as Christians and it was only after the shedding of tears he consented to part from them at Marburg with a very qualified acknowledgment of their status as Christians.

Zwingli, who was killed in the battle of Cappel, 1531, was ultimately succeeded as leader of the Swiss Reformation by Calvin. Calvin purified the Swiss from many of their crudities, but there was never any real union between Calvinist and Lutheran. Calvin's view of the Holy Communion was not antagonistic to Luther's, it was rather supplementary. He agreed with Zwingli thus far that he contended that the natural presence of Christ is in Heaven and not on earth, but notwithstanding there was a mystical presence of the Lord in the Sacrament but not in the elements themselves. This was the Glorified Humanity of Christ which though locally absent was virtually present and, simultaneously with the reception of the elements, it

was communicated to the faithful for their spiritual sustenance. To the faithful only be it noted: "the union of the outward and inward parts of the Sacrament being always conditioned by the faith of the recipient, and the communication of Christ to the believing soul effected only in a mystical or supersensuous way by some specific action of the Holy Ghost".[1]

Both Calvin and Luther "insisted on the Presence of the Body of Christ; but the one (Luther) needed the theory of 'ubiquity' to explain the Presence, while the other (Calvin) did not need it. But as both discarded the priestly miracle while insisting on the Presence of the Body, the two doctrines might be stated in almost the same words, provided all mention of 'ubiquity' was omitted. Calvin could and did sign the Augsburg Confession; but he did not read into it what a Lutheran would have done, the theory of 'ubiquity'; and a Calvinist statement of the doctrine, provided only 'ubiquity' was not denied, might be accepted by a Lutheran as not differing greatly from his own."[2]

It was to Calvin's view that most of our English reformers more or less closely approximated. Cranmer's position was ultimately nearly identical with Calvin's, although he passed through a stage of agreement with Luther.

Between Luther and Calvin there were, however, clear-cut points of difference. Around these two striking personalities the Protestant Reformation outside England turned—Sweden, Norway, Denmark, and nearly the whole of Protestant Germany followed the lead of Luther. Holland and the Swiss Protestant States were

[1] Hardwick, op. cit. ed. 1856, p. 167.
[2] Lindsay, op. cit. Vol. II, p. 413.

dominated by the influence of Calvin, but also in parts of Germany, especially Hesse and the Palatinate, he had a large following.

Luther approached the Reformation essentially from a spiritual standpoint: Zwingli, upon whose foundation Calvin built, rather from the intellectual standpoint. Logic and cold reason have a somewhat hard way of dealing with mysticism; the result was that, from the æsthetic point of view, Calvin's system was cold and lacking in the appeal to the senses. The outward form of worship was simplified to the extreme of bareness. Church discipline was severe, and the doctrine of election, which was the essence of the Genevan teaching, lent a rigour and sternness to the system which was distinctly forbidding to many minds. Lutheranism had more light and shade about it, Calvinism was chiefly shade.

The foregoing remarks are enough to show that the differences between the two schools of thought were sufficiently great to prevent a complete fusion. This division was a serious matter for the reformed cause on the Continent. "It broke the force of the reform movement; it raised endless contests which were sometimes hateful in the extreme; and it gave the enemies of the Gospel fresh courage and strength for resistance. Nevertheless, that division is not only the necessary expression of the individualism involved in Protestantism, but it has been a source of rich blessing. The great struggle for the truth of the Gospel found utterance in two distinct forms; and from the Reformation there arose two great ecclesiastical currents which were one at their source, and yet each had its own especial powers and gifts of grace." [1]

The English reformers had more personal dealings,

[1] Sohm, "Outlines of Church History," p. 178.

and formed closer friendships, with the Calvinistic bodies than they did with the Lutheran Church. Their sacramental views much more closely resembled those of Calvin than those of Luther. Scotland adopted entirely the views of Calvin. Her reformed Church was built upon his system of Church government; and to the mind of its prophet, John Knox, Calvin had spoken the last word upon spiritual matters.

We shall apply ourselves in the following pages to trace and examine the attitude adopted by the English Church to these reformed communities of Western Europe and Scotland, the influence they exerted upon religious thought in England, the friendship that existed between them, the intercommunion established and the general relation of these foreign orders to our Episcopal Church. Later on, non-episcopal bodies were to arise in England, partly as the result of this influence and partly the result of other circumstances. An even more important matter than the attitude of our Church to Presbyterians abroad, is the consideration of the relations and points at issue between our Church and the English Dissenters. It is to this subject that the greater part of our attention will be given in the ensuing chapters.

Was Zwingli a "Zwinglian"?

The question is being debated just now whether Nestorius was guilty of the heresy which bears his name. It is probable that Zwingli has been even more hastily judged. When men are involved in controversy the emphasis of their own view of truth very frequently misleads them into over-emphasis, and this always means tottering on the edge of error. In opposing the Roman idea of the Mass, Zwingli certainly leant to the other

extreme and in consequence has acquired the evil reputation of originating a minor heresy. But he seems when really stating his views to be far removed from "Zwinglianism". "In his exposition of the Eighteenth Article, he says: 'Here let simple readers understand that we do not here discuss the question whether the Body and Blood of Christ are eaten and drunk (for of that no Christian has any doubt)'. . . . And in his Confession addressed to King Francis: 'We believe that Christ is truly present in the Lord's Supper: yea that there is no communion without such presence . . . we believe that the true Body of Christ is eaten in the Communion, not in a gross and carnal manner, but in a spiritual and sacramental manner, by the religious believing and pious heart'." [1]

The accusation of "Zwinglianism" was made against him shortly after his death, if not before; but two striking champions came forward in the persons of Peter Martyr and Bullinger. An interesting reference to the controversy occurs in a letter from John ab Ulmis to the latter: "He (Peter Martyr) has defended that most worthy man, Zwingli, by the testimony of your opinion, and taken part with him against his adversaries, who falsely object to him that he makes the Sacrament a mere sign".[2]

The exoneration of Zwingli from the heresy which bears his name has been undertaken in recent times by a writer of the greatest ability, who has gone very thoroughly into the whole question.

This writer points out that Hooker speaks approvingly of Zwingli's view of the Sacraments, which in itself is

[1] Anderson Scott, "Evangelical Doctrine, Bible Truth," pp. 119-120 footnote.

[2] "Original Letters," P.S. ed., p. 388.

sufficient to clear him from the charge of regarding them as "naked signs". He also quotes Zwingli's words: "By these very symbols, that is, bread and wine, Christ Himself is presented to our eyes, that so, not only now being heard, but also seen and tasted, they see and perceive Christ, whom the soul has in its bosom, and rejoices in Him";[1] and also Cosin's statement: "Luther was once of opinion that the divines of Basil and Strasburg did acknowledge nothing in the Supper besides bread and wine. To him Bucer, in the name of all the rest, did freely answer that they all unanimously did condemn that error, that neither they nor the Switzers ever believed or taught any such thing, that none could expressly be charged with that error except the Anabaptists."[2] He maintains that the real views of Zwingli were identical with those of Calvin, Cranmer, and Jewel. "The simple truth is that the views of Calvin, Cranmer, and Jewel on the presence of Christ in the Eucharist were identically the same as those of Zwingli. . . . It is absolutely certain that there was no real difference between Zwingli and these other three younger reformers respecting the presence of Christ in the Lord's Supper."[3]

This is enough to make us at least hesitate before fastening the charge of "Zwinglianism" upon Zwingli.

[1] Harrison, "Dr. Pusey's Challenge Answered," ed. 1871, Vol. I, p. 640.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 637. [3] *Ibid.* pp. 633-49.

CHAPTER II.

THE REFORMED VIEW OF THE CHURCH OF CHRIST.

Before proceeding to our main point in detail, viz. the relations existing between the English Church and the non-episcopal bodies abroad and at home, there is one important preliminary that deserves, at least, brief treatment. It is this: What was the conception of the Church of Christ which prevailed in the minds of the representative men of the time? This by itself is really a very wide subject and it is impossible for us to give it the space it deserves, but at the same time a clear understanding is invaluable to our inquiry, because it will enable us to draw right inferences from the attitude observed by our Church towards the Continental Protestants.

The Roman Church was in a strong position upon this particular question—it could point to its enormous following, it could point to its imposing ceremonies, its bishops and cardinals culminating in the Pope. It had a definite well-organized system. Its numbers and influence could not be gainsaid: this, it said, was "the Church," the Body of Christ outside of which there was no salvation. Its case was made the stronger by its appeal to the fathers; but such appeals were often dishonest, garbled quotations being frequently made. Pilkington, Bishop of Durham in Elizabeth's reign,

although his language is very offensive, as was all too common at the time, is not far wrong when he writes: "This is ever the fashion of lying papists, to have the names of doctors and ancient writers in their mouths, as though they were of the same opinion that they be, where indeed they be nothing less: and if they get a word or two that seems to make for them, they will add a whole tale of their own making, as though it were a piece of the same ancient man's saying: and by this means they deceive the simple, which have no learning to judge, or have not the books to try their sayings by." [1]

The natural result of the over-emphasis of the visibility of the Church by their enemies, combined with Calvin's ideas of election, produced a powerful reaction in the Protestant mind. The stress was laid by them upon holy living and faithfulness to the teaching of Scripture rather than outward organization. Archdeacon Philpot was not speaking for himself alone when, at his examination for heresy which ended in the stake, he said, "I deny, my lord, that succession of bishops is an infallible point to know the Church by. But if you put to the succession of bishops, succession of doctrine withal (as St. Augustine doth), I will grant it to be a good proof for the Church." [2]

There was on the whole a general agreement throughout the Protestant world and the main points were as follows: The Church was a visible society, but within that spacious area was the invisible company, known to God only; these were the elect and to these only belonged the title of the Body of Christ, and this was the

[1] "Works of Bishop Pilkington," P.S. ed., p. 619.

[2] "Examination and Writings of Archdeacon Philpot," P.S ed., p. 139.

only Church which could claim to be infallible. "Christ is present with His Holy Church, which is His holy elected people, leading and governing them with His Holy Spirit, and teaching them all truth necessary for their salvation. . . ." "And truth it is indeed that the Church doth never wholly err; for ever in most darkness God shineth unto His elect, and in the midst of all iniquity He governeth them so with His Holy Word and Spirit, that the gates of hell prevail not against them."[1]

Again: "This Church is that holy congregation or fellowship of God's elect, which cannot err, nor be brought into error, much less perish or be damned."[2]

This broadly expresses the main lines of agreement. Considerable latitude was allowed to the various bodies which constituted the great whole, but the agreement upon what were considered essentials was complete. "The universal Church of Christ agrees in the necessary articles of our salvation; but in certain outward orders and ceremonies every country differs from others without any dishonour to God." And even more emphatic: "I said afore . . . that the universal Church never made any one order of service to be used throughout the whole world, but every country has and may have divers without offending, so they agree in one substance of true doctrine."[3]

Not only was there complete unanimity among the English reformers on this question but the Continental reformers shared their opinions. As expressed in their authoritative formularies, the views of the Continental and Scotch Protestants present a remarkable identity

[1] Cranmer, "Answer to Smith's Preface," P.S. ed., pp. 376-7.
[2] Becon's "Catechism," P.S. ed., p. 42.
[3] Pilkington, op. cit. pp. 552, 629, 630.

with our own. The "Scots Confession of Faith," (1560) largely the work of John Knox, declares: "There hath been, now is, and to the end of the world shall be one Kirk: that is to say one company and multitude of men chosen of God, who rightly worship and embrace Him by true faith in Christ Jesus, Who is the only Head of the same Kirk, which also is the Body and Spouse of Christ Jesus . . . out of which Kirk there is neither life nor eternal felicity."

Curio, the Italian Protestant, expresses his views in words strikingly similar to those above. "The Church is a certain congregation of men, mingled eftsoons with good and evil, in the universal doctrine of Christ openly agreeing, and using His Sacraments righteously." [1]

And one last view, that of Calvin, perhaps the greatest of the Continental reformers, must be noted :—

"The Church is called catholic or universal, for two or three cannot be invented without dividing Christ; and this is impossible." [2] "Moreover, beyond the pale of the Church no forgiveness of sins, no salvation can be hoped for . . . hence the abandonment of the Church is always fatal." [3]

The Scriptures, he says, "speak of the Church in two ways. Sometimes the invisible body, consisting of the adopted sons of God, is meant, sometimes the visible body. In this (visible) Church there is a very large mixture of hypocrites who have nothing of Christ but the name and outward appearance." [4]

There is one deplorable feature about practically all the reformers' views of the Church. With very great

[1] Curio, "Defence of Christ's Church," trans. by Philpot, "Works," P.S. ed., p. 330.

[2] "Institutes," Bk. IV, chap. I. § 12.

[3] *Ibid.* § 4. [4] *Ibid.* § 7.

reluctance do they admit the claim of the Roman communion to have any share in this universal, this catholic Church (for the very word which the Romans arrogated to themselves the reformers claim stoutly not only as theirs but as particularly theirs). The most ferocious language is inadequate to express the hatred of the extremists for Rome and all its ways. Its bishops are "bishops with horns," it is "the pestilential swamp and sink," its clergy are "spawn of anti-christ". But in common fairness it must be remembered that after all this was only a *tu quoque*. The Roman far exceeded the Protestant in abuse and vituperation, and the immoderate and repulsive language of the latter was only provoked by, and a mild echo of, the offensive language of the former. Courtesy to opponents was not the habit of the day.

Though the Protestants had this comprehensive and somewhat loose idea of the Church, yet the same idea was more clear-cut than at first appears.[1] There were certain marks which must be looked for in determining the true Scriptural society, and again we shall see striking agreement among the various bodies.

"The four tokens or marks whereby we may truly and undeceivably know the true catholic and apostolic Church" are "the sincere, true, and uncorrupt preaching of God's Word . . . the true administration of the Sacraments . . . fervent prayer in the Name of one alone Mediator . . . and ecclesiastical discipline according to the prescript and appointment of God's Word".[2]

Ridley's tests are almost identical: "The sincere preaching of God's Word, the due administration of the

[1] Cf. particularly Art. V, "De Ecclesia" of the Thirteen Articles of 1538 in Hardwick, "History of Articles," p. 264.

[2] Becon, op. cit., p. 42.

Sacraments, charity and a faithful observing of ecclesiastical discipline according to the Word of God." [1]

In 1553 there was published by the King's order a somewhat lengthy catechism which "all schoolmasters and teachers of youth" were to use in their instruction. There the marks of the Church are given as four: "First, pure preaching of the Gospel: then brotherly love . . . thirdly, upright and uncorrupted use of the Lord's Sacraments according to the ordinance of the Gospel: last of all brotherly correction and excommunication, or banishing those out of the Church, that will not amend their lives. This mark the holy fathers termed discipline." [2]

The comparison between these and the following is most striking. In the "Scots Confession of Faith" the marks are threefold: "The true preaching of the Word of God; the right administration of the Sacraments of Christ Jesus; and ecclesiastical discipline uprightly administered".

Calvin's criteria of the Church are practically identical. They are of the visible body of believers "who profess to worship one God and Christ, who by Baptism are initiated into the faith; by partaking of the Lord's Supper profess unity in true doctrine and charity, agree in holding the Word of the Lord, and observe the ministry which Christ has appointed for the preaching of it".[3] The inferences to be drawn from this examina-

[1] Conference between Ridley and Latimer during imprisonment, P.S. ed., p. 123.

[2] "Liturgies of King Edward VI," P.S. ed., p. 513.

[3] "Institutes," Bk. IV, chap. 1. § 7.

See also Augsburg Confession, Art. VII: "The Church is the congregation of Saints in which the Gospel is rightly taught and the Sacraments rightly administered. And unto the true unity of

tion are most instructive. In the first place it is impossible to read such definitions and opinions without noticing the substantial identity between them and the authorized formularies of our own Church teaching: "Although in the visible Church the evil be ever mingled with the good".[1] "The visible Church of Christ is a congregation of faithful men, in which the pure Word of God is preached, and the Sacraments be duly ministered according to Christ's ordinance in all those things that of necessity are requisite to the same."[2]

the Church it is sufficient to agree concerning the doctrine of the Gospel and the administration of the Sacraments. Nor is it necessary that human traditions, rites, or ceremonies instituted by men should be alike everywhere."

Belgic Confession (1561), Art. XXIX: "The marks by which the true Church is known are these: If the pure doctrine of the Gospel is preached therein; if she maintains the pure administration of the Sacraments as instituted by Christ; if Church discipline is exercised in punishing of sin."

For numerous other similar statements *vide* Schaff, "Creeds of the Evangelical Protestant Churches". Also Nowell's "Catechism," and Jewel's "Homily for Whitsuntide," where similar expressions are used.

[1] Art. XXVI.

[2] Art. XIX. It must be mentioned that some writers have displayed ingenuity in reading into this article their own views. The phrase "those things that of necessity are requisite to the same" lent itself to vague interpretation. Cf. Beveridge on Art. XIX. in his work on "Thirty-nine Articles": "And what is the reason that there can be no Church without priests, but because the Word cannot be rightly preached nor the Sacraments rightly administered without them? and seeing these things cannot be done without them, there can be no Church without them". Also Bingham, "Works," ed. 1845, Vol. IX, p. 74, who makes a similar defence of those who narrow the interpretation of "lawfully called" in Art. XXIII. "They who speak the most for uninterrupted succession, never said this article was defective. For they say

Such a striking similarity, fairly regarded, can point only one way. If unsupported by any other evidence it would lead us, not only to the conclusion that the views of the reformers, Scotch, Continental, and English, were on this important point practically identical, but strongly to lean to the conviction that there was a harmony existing between them witnessing to a union much closer than that indicated by the adoption of similar modes of expression. Indeed on this evidence alone it would not be easy to refute the statement that the English reformers regarded all the reformed Churches abroad as sharing with them the full right and title to be a part of the one true catholic Church. The Nineteenth Article seems specially framed with this design behind it, and to twist the words otherwise seems, in face of these facts, to be flagrant special pleading. The caution and restraint so apparent in the language of the article was certainly deliberate. Much would have been gained by the English Church, so far as its Roman adversaries were concerned, if it could have seen its way to declare emphatically that episcopacy was an essential mark of the true apostolic Church. It would have spared itself much inconvenience which loyalty to the non-episcopal foreign bodies necessarily entailed, and it would have been in a stronger position also in dealing with the anti-episcopal sectaries of Elizabeth's reign had it amended the article by inserting some such categorical statement. But all reference to episcopacy as essential to a valid ministry was studiously avoided, both at the first drawing up of the

uninterrupted succession is implied in the article itself." But for an admirable and fair comment on this article, *vide* Goode, "Divine Rule of Faith and Practice," Vol. II, p. 288 ff., in which he shows nothing of the kind was "implied in the article".

articles and in the subsequent revisions, and one feels driven to the conclusion that the underlying intention was, not merely not to exclude Presbyterian bodies from the catholic Church, but definitely to include them in that body.

The mark of the Church referred to above as "discipline" was also a deliberately vague expression. It is most instructive, however, to see the stress that was laid upon this point. Indeed the non-episcopal bodies were if anything more emphatic than the English Church. The reformers generally were satisfied to leave the actual title of those who held the reins of discipline unstated. But the discipline of the Churches had always a strong Erastian tincture about it. The secular arm was called in to administer the extreme sentences[1] and this produced a very undesirable atmosphere around spiritual things. It is not easy to say where the power of the magistrate is to cease once his authority is admitted in religion, and this very question was the cause of the weary and unpalatable Erastian controversy.[2]

National characteristics are things which assert themselves not only in habits but also in deeper matters. Religion itself takes a local colour. The very uniformity of the Roman system, to some a remarkable proof of its power, is really a weakening influence. Here Protestantism showed an elasticity which added immensely to its strength. It possessed the power of affording scope for national characteristics, and this was a means of its

[1] This was also the attitude the Roman Church pretended to take. It was the secular arm which was nominally the executioner of recalcitrant heretics.

[2] *Vide* Henson, "English Religion in the Seventeenth Century," chapter on "Erastianism".

endearing itself to each nation that came under its influence. The Protestant Churches had an opportunity of becoming national in a sense denied absolutely to Rome. Their centre was at home, not in a foreign country, and their rights and privileges as national Churches were jealously safeguarded. It was the duty of every citizen to belong to the Church of his country, and separation was a serious offence among them all. Calvin's judgment was clear and would have had the unanimous agreement of all the reformed bodies. "There is no excuse for him who spontaneously abandons the external communion of a Church in which the Word of God is preached and the Sacraments are administered." [1]

The national Church of each individual was part of his inheritance, and wantonly to separate from it was a serious offence. This is really a very interesting point in view of the contention that the Reformation established the right of private judgment. As a matter of fact private judgment was not really permitted at all, for it carries with it inseparably toleration, and it was many years before toleration was even legally permitted, and many more before it was absolutely recognized—if indeed it is to-day! It was more a kind of collective and national freedom of judgment that was recognized than the extension of absolute liberty of choice to the individual.[2] National Churches were tacitly recognized

[1] "Institutes," Bk. IV, chap. i. par. 19.

[2] Cf. e.g. Bridge's "Defence of the Government established in the Church of England," ed. 1587, p. 320. "Not that every person in one and the same Church should use this liberty of difference, without controlment and restraint of the superior in that Church wherein he liveth. For though it were lawful for one Church to differ from another, being not so tied to uniformity as to unity;

as having liberty within very wide limits to organize themselves as they thought fit, provided they did not contravene the clear word of Scripture; and what they collectively decided upon, that the individual was required to adhere to. This was the general principle recognized by one national Church towards another. When foreigners were refugees in England, every facility was afforded them to worship in their own way, and they were never regarded as separatists; vice versa, when Englishmen were refugees on the Continent. This will be more clearly seen in the following chapters, but this point must be constantly borne in mind—the individual must conform to the usage of his national Church.

It was not the prerogative solely of the Church of any country to select the form of Church government, and decide other questions of discipline, upon which latitude was admitted throughout the Protestant world. The civil authority was considered at least equally competent to decide, and so far as England was concerned, the Sovereign's opinion was final. When in Elizabeth's reign the refugees returned from abroad, many of them with a strong preference for the Genevan system, those who conformed to the episcopal system did not hesitate to declare the ground of their conformity to be the royal supremacy. The Queen had settled the matter for the nation, and their duty was the simple one of falling in line. Even such a representative man as Archbishop Parker (who had taken his chance at home during the Marian persecution), said he cared nothing for surplice, cope, or wafer-bread, but what he did care for was the authority (the Queen's) that enforced them. Another

yet it is not meet for one Church to differ from itself; but to be both in unity, and be ruled also by uniformity. Especially where law binds them to obedience."

bishop, Aylmer, went even further. The surplice was the Queen's livery, and her servants, the clergy, must wear it.[1] The gross Erastianism in this idea is certainly lamentable, but our duty is neither to defend nor attack, but simply to try to understand the facts of the case, and to get a broad and accurate idea of the way in which these questions were regarded in the Protestant world.

This Erastian spirit was what really lay behind the Acts of Uniformity, the Test Act, and all the other persecuting measures. To separate from the Church of the nation was not merely to question the Church but to defy the authority of the State which lay behind the Church.

The definition of "Catholic" was something very different from that given in certain quarters to-day. It had no reference to any form of Church government, provided the form selected did not contravene the revelation of Scripture. National Churches were recognized as free to decide this question as they pleased. But at the same time circumstances had not always allowed a free choice. The Lutherans would have frankly preferred episcopacy but circumstances were too strong for them. "Our meaning is not to have rule taken away from the bishops; but this one thing only is requested at their hands, that they would suffer the Gospel to be purely taught, and that they will give account to God for this, that by obstinacy they afford cause of schism."[2] Calvin also had strong leanings in the same direction, but he too was not free to choose.[3]

[1] *Vide* Dr. J. Hunt in "Church, Past and Present," p. 140.

[2] Augsburg Confession, Part. II, Art. VII.

[3] Confirmation was another ceremony from which Calvin had parted with reluctance. "Institutes," Book IV, chap. XIX.

The sincerity of the non-episcopal reformers has been questioned in this matter. Jeremy Taylor clearly had doubts on the point. "M. du Plessis, a man of honour and great learning, does attest, that at the first Reformation there were many Archbishops and Cardinals in Germany, England, France, and Italy, that joined in the Reformation, whom they might, but did not, employ in their ordinations." [1] And he was not the only one who preferred this charge against the non-episcopalians.

But Bishop Joseph Hall is more emphatic the other way. He asks: "Did any of them forsake and abjure that function of episcopacy which he might freely have enjoyed with the full liberty of professing the reformed religion? . . . Yea, if the last Bishop of Geneva had become a Protestant and consented in matter of doctrine to Calvin, Farel, Viret, have you or any man living just cause to think that the city would not gladly have retained his government still, and thought themselves happy under such protection? . . . No man that hath either brain or forehead will affirm it; since the world knows that the quarrel was not at his dignity, but at his opposition to the intended Reformation." [2]

These quotations really anticipate a question which will require further treatment in the examination of the situation in England in the Caroline period, and we will leave its further consideration till then. But at this early period of the Reformation there was no hint on the part of Protestants that the non-episcopal Churches

par. 4. The sacramental character which confirmation had acquired among the Romans, however, constrained him to rule it out lest it should mislead.

[1] Jeremy Taylor, "Episcopacy by Divine Right Asserted," § 32.

[2] J. Hall, "Episcopacy by Divine Right Asserted," Introduction, § 2.

suffered any vital loss from the absence of bishops in their Church polity.

So far as England was concerned there was not the least difficulty in this direction. The national Church had no need to break with the past. A sufficient number of its bishops fell in line to allow it to continue their government without any compromise which might prejudice its Protestant status. The Church's law for England was therefore perfectly clear. Quite unwarrantable conclusions are drawn frequently from the Preface to the Ordinal in the Book of Common Prayer. A reference to it will be to the point and help to crystallize the argument of this chapter.

"It is evident unto all men diligently reading the Holy Scriptures and ancient authors that from the Apostles' time there have been these Orders of Ministers in Christ's Church; Bishops, Priests, and Deacons." No one questioned this for a moment excepting the puritan *Extremists* who denied that bishops of their time resembled the bishops of the first age. These *Extremists* were, according to the argument already made clear, condemned as rebels against their national Church. The preface then goes on to state after a previous reference to the "Church of England," that "no man shall be accounted or taken to be a lawful Bishop, Priest, or Deacon in the Church of England . . . except . . . he hath had . . . episcopal consecration or ordination".

Reading this preface in the light of the times when it was drawn up, it is nothing more than the statement of the law for a national Church. The transition from "Church of Christ" in the first sentence to "Church of England" later on points clearly to this conclusion. Episcopacy is the law of the national Church and the

change of expression hints pointedly that the compilers of the Ordinal deliberately refrained from maintaining that no minister was a lawful official of *Christ's* Church unless he had been episcopally ordained. Circumstances made the way clear for the Church of England to retain the old method and it had retained it. Other Churches were free, equally, to do what they thought fit, and no vital loss was theirs if they could not have the ancient form of Church government.

Bishop Gibson sees a good deal more in this preface than we have here indicated. He sees herein what leads him to say that the Church of England "feels compelled to insist upon episcopal ordination in every case, and *can recognize no other*".[1] (Italics are mine.) But allowing this (which we cannot, for a moment, do save for the sake of argument), even on his own showing, the clause on which he bases this assertion (i.e. the last part of the first paragraph of the Preface to the Ordinal) only "dates from the final revision of 1662". So that the very most that can be proved is that the recognition of non-episcopal orders was an open question for considerably over one hundred years by our Church.[2] As a matter of fact, the alteration in the Preface to the Ordinal in 1662 was intended to condemn and make impossible non-episcopal ministrations *within* the Church of England; in no sense was it a pronouncement upon such ministries in general. The learned bishop admits (after a scholarly summary of the case) that nothing can be found in the Articles which carries us beyond the statement that "Episcopacy . . . . is *an allowable form of Church government* and leaves the question open

[1] *Vide* "The Thirty-nine Articles," p. 746.

[2] The corresponding sentences in the 1552 Prayer Book are *much* milder in expression.

whether it is the only one". Upon this question "we are met with a remarkable silence".[1] But this silence is not at all "remarkable" if the cogency of the argument of this chapter is admitted. Otherwise the silence is more than "remarkable"; it is an omission which convicts the compilers of the Prayer Book and Articles of sheer incompetence.

[1] *Vide* "The Thirty-nine Articles," p. 744.

CHAPTER III.

THE COMPILATION OF THE PRAYER BOOK.

The reign of King Edward VI ushered in a period, so far as England was concerned, when the cause of the Reformation advanced rapidly. Youthful though the King was, and allowing a considerable margin for the excessive and superlative praises showered upon him, it is certain that he was not only whole-heartedly on the side of Protestantism but that he had a clear and intelligent grasp of the questions at issue. His short reign is a concentration of the history of all the points in dispute, and affords striking and abundant evidence as to the attitude of our Church towards these questions.

Two main points will require careful examination, and the policy adopted by the authorities in Church and State on these two questions will reflect accurately the views of the times.

The first of these is the compilation of the Book of Common Prayer.

One of the most pressing necessities of the times was the purifying of the forms of public worship, and early in this reign this work was definitely taken in hand, though some important steps had been taken in the previous reign. The urgency of the matter is stated clearly in the introduction to the service-book—"Concerning the Service of the Church"—and there also are set out the general rules adopted by the compilers.

1. The Bible was to be read in a more regular and complete way than in the past.

2. The complicated system of the old service-books was to be simplified.

3. The Latin language was to be changed for the English,[1] so that "worshippers might understand and have profit by hearing the same".

4. "Untrue," "uncertain," "vain and superstitious" things were to be omitted, and only such things were "ordained to be read" as were "the very pure Word of God, the Holy Scriptures, or that which is agreeable to the same". The whole of the services were designed to be short and easy to be understood.

5. In the past there had been great diversity in the "Churches within this realm"; henceforth there was to be uniformity and one service-book for all.

There was no shortage of material for the work of compilation; indeed the abundance of it was positively embarrassing, the difficulty was rather what to exclude, than what to include.

The very able and exhaustive labours of the divines engaged upon the task issued in the Prayer Book of 1549, revised again in 1552, a manual rich in beautiful petitions offered up in the exquisite language of the day.

But this work was not a matter of interest merely to the English people; nor did the compilers themselves suppose it was. The unity of spirit existing between all, at home and abroad, who had fought for freedom

[1] "It was pretended that, Pilate having ordered the inscription on the Cross in Greek, Latin, and Hebrew, these three languages were sanctified; but it is not easy to understand what authority he had for conferring such a privilege on them." (Burnet, "History of the Reformation," ed. 1847, p. 290.)

from Rome, called forth the sympathy of foreigners with this new departure, and, as the Archbishop and his followers worked, the eyes of Protestant Europe were upon them. It would be beside the point, as well as wearisome, to examine all the material passed under review by the revisers, but what will call for comment is the important question, to what extent, if any, did they listen to the advice, and follow the examples, of the non-episcopal Churches, and what conclusions can we draw from their conduct.

The former is really not an easy question to answer, for a great variety of answers have been given. Some authorities certainly seem to over-estimate the Continental influence, and others to err on the other side. "It is, in fact," says one authority, "impossible to discriminate precisely the respective shares of these collaborating forces." [1] This remark seems perfectly true. But equally true is it to say that "it cannot . . . be doubted that the many learned foreigners who were at this time settled and actively employed in England, and were almost without exception in favour of more extensive changes, exerted an important influence on public opinion".[2] The difficult question is to settle whether that influence was direct or mainly indirect: the existence of the influence is beyond all dispute. So far as the first Prayer Book was concerned outside influence was not much felt. But it is certainly not true to say with Heylin: "Those who had the chief directing of this weighty business were beforehand resolved that none but English heads and hands should be used therein; lest otherwise it might be thought, or perhaps objected, that they rather followed the example of some

[1] Pollard, op. cit. p. 271.

[2] Cardwell, "Two Books of Common Prayer," ed. 1838, p. xxvi.

other Churches, or were swayed by authority of those foreign assistants, than by the Word of God, and the most uncorrupted practice of primitive times ".[1]

One of the most important books used in drawing up the first Prayer Book was the " Consultation " of Hermann, Archbishop of Cologne, 1543. This book had been compiled at his request by Melanchthon and Bucer, who in turn had relied mainly upon a service drawn up by Luther. " The Litany presents many striking affinities with the amended English Litany of 1544. The exhortations in the Communion service (1548 and 1549) and portions of the Baptismal services, are mainly due to this book." [2]

With a view to helping forward the Reformation several of the leading reformers on the Continent had been invited to England. Melanchthon was pressed to come on more than one occasion but was never able to do so. Martin Bucer, a German divine, accepted the invitation of the Archbishop. He was in serious danger in his own country, and in 1548 Cranmer wrote " urging him to become a labourer in the Lord's harvest here begun ".[3]

He was appointed to a position of dignity which marked the esteem in which he was held and the respect with which his authority was regarded, viz. Regius Professor at Cambridge. The corresponding position at Oxford was offered to, and accepted by, Peter Martyr. The holders of two such important positions were not likely to be ignored when the work of revising the

[1] Heylin, " History of the Reformation," § 19, year 1548.

[2] Procter, " History of the Book of Common Prayer," ed. 1875, p. 43. His opinion is that the first Prayer Book was " largely indebted to Luther," *ibid.* p. 42.

[3] Strype, " Cranmer," II, 196.

Liturgy was taken in hand, and it is not surprising to note that the second Prayer Book was affected much more by foreign influence than the first Book. Both the great foreign divines, Bucer and Martyr, were invited to offer their suggestions. Martyr quite recognized that "his opinion was not to guide the amendments," and it is perhaps true enough that the alterations made in the second Prayer Book, "do not seem to have resulted from Bucer's opinion, but rather to have been settled before the two foreign professors were even asked to give their judgments". But the point which deserves attention is the fact that their opinions were invited.

The other great Continental reformer, like Luther, exerted his influence indirectly. Calvin did not wait to be asked, but volunteered his help, declaring that if ten seas flowed between him and England, if the invitation were given, he would not be found wanting. But though his help was not directly sought his influence affected the work of compilation though perhaps very indirectly. The Liturgy used by a congregation of refugees at Glastonbury was based upon a composition of Calvin. This Strasburg Liturgy had some similarity with the earlier parts of Matins and Evensong. Another foreign congregation, that superintended by John a Lasco, in London, used a liturgy which also furnished, at least, hints to our authorities.[1]

One of the great Continental divines whose opinion on various matters was frequently sought, and conspicuously deferred to, was Bullinger. So little did his reputation pale, so great was the confidence reposed in his judgment, that in the reign of Elizabeth he was still

[1] This question is dealt with carefully in Procter, op. cit. pp. 41-52.

a great influence in this country.[1] As soon as his sermons were published they were sent to England in parcels. These were embodied in a work which was translated into English and published by royal authority and sanctioned by Convocation in 1586. Archbishop Whitgift directed that "for the better increase of learning in the inferior ministers" they should read and study one of these sermons every week. "Every minister with cure of souls, under the degree of M.A. or B.C.L. and not licensed to be a public preacher, was ordered to provide a Bible, Bullinger's 'Decades' in Latin or English, and a paper book; to read over weekly one sermon in the 'Decades,' noticing the chief matters in the paper book, and to show his notes to some clergyman, appointed for that purpose, every quarter."[2] Whole-hearted agreement with Bullinger's teaching could scarcely devise any greater proof of approval than this.

The opinion of the Continental Protestants was definitely, even eagerly, sought, in the framing of the "Thirty-nine Articles".[3] The first step was the draw-

[1] "Religion is again placed on the same footing on which it stood in King Edward's time; to which even, I doubt not, but that your own letters and exhortations, and those of your republic, have powerfully contributed." (Jewel to Bullinger, 22 May, 1559, Zurich Letters.)

[2] Lathbury, "History of Convocation," p. 196.

[3] The Thirteen Articles of 1538 "not only indicate the disposition of our leading reformers to acquiesce in the dogmatic statements which had been put forward in the Augsburg Confession, but have also a prospective bearing of still more importance, as, in many ways, the groundwork of articles now in use. . . . From what is known of their general character, the framers of the Edwardine Articles would be 'anxious, in the execution of their undertaking, to meet, if possible, the views of their brethren on the Continent as well as of their countrymen at home'." (Hardwick, "History of the Articles," pp. 60, 61.)

ing up of the Thirteen Articles in Henry VIII's reign. He invited a number of Lutheran divines to England, and in 1538 this assembly met presided over by Cranmer. The idea of the conference was to "draw up a joint Confession of Faith, with a view to the comprehension of both Anglicans and Lutherans in one communion".[1] The difference between the two bodies was virtually only on sacramental and disciplinary questions, and agreement, of course, was not arrived at on these points. But the fact of such a conference being held is very significant. A document much relied upon by the framers of these Thirteen Articles was the Confession of Augsburg, the authoritative statement of the Lutheran position, which had been drawn up by Melanchthon and Luther and presented to the Emperor at the Diet of Augsburg, 1530. The Confession of Würtemberg, another Lutheran document, containing thirty-five articles, "proved of considerable use to Archbishop Parker in the preparation of the Elizabethan Articles of 1563."[2] To read these, and other of the Reformed Churches' Confessions of Faith, leads one irresistibly to the conclusion that, indirect though the influence may have been, it was none the less very definite.

It seems quite certain from these considerations that the advice given by these Continental divines had great weight with those commissioned to draw up the Prayer Book. The minds of our leaders moved on lines parallel to those followed by their brethren abroad. The final work was generally approved by the foreigners. Calvin considered it still had some "*tolerabiles ineptiæ*" between its covers, but neither he, nor any of his colleagues, could refrain from giving their approval.

[1] Gibson, "Thirty-nine Articles," p. 7. [2] *Ibid.* p. 9.

The very fact of foreign opinion being so freely sought indicates a clear desire to keep in line with the Continental reformers and at the same time evidences, beyond all question, a recognition by the Edwardine divines that all Protestants were one fellowship. By its action in this matter, the Church of England clearly showed that it had no idea that its position as an Episcopal Church gave it any authority which was not possessed equally by the non-episcopal bodies; they were equally competent with it to decide what is of faith, and discriminate between the truth and falsehood.

It is quite impossible to reconcile the behaviour of our Church in this important matter with any idea that it supposed these foreign Churches suffered from any vital defect in not possessing an episcopate. There was more than a mere non-committal attitude of refraining from condemning them. Not only were they equally competent to decide in the supreme matter of defining the faith for themselves, but the Anglican Church, despite the possession of its bishops, could profitably sit at the feet of their leaders and even accept their ruling in matters of faith. The keys which could unlock the mysteries of God's truth were placed in both episcopal and non-episcopal hands.

Judging by its practice, this was beyond question the view of our Church at this period. It separated itself entirely from the Roman idea that the episcopate was the sole repository of truth and struck out on an independent line. Definitely it allied itself with the opinion that the Spirit of God, Who guides into all truth, was operating no less truly in non-episcopal bodies than in its own more favoured community; and we look in vain for any trace of suspicion cast upon the views of Presbyterian

Churches because of any defect in their Church government.

"Never was greater deference paid to foreign opinion than now in a Church which had been emancipated from the jurisdiction of a foreign bishop." [1]

We cannot better sum up the argument of these last two chapters than by quoting the judgment of Prof. Makower, as follows :—

"Though the episcopal is the recognized constitution of the Church of England, it cannot even be conceded that that constitution is regarded in the fundamental formularies of the English Church as the essential one of every Christian Church.

"It is true that in the introduction to the form of ordination attached to the Prayer Book the proposition —not historically sound, at least without limitation—is laid down, that from the time of the Apostles there have been these orders of ministers in Christ's Church . . . it is not, however, contended there that the *Bible* prescribes an episcopal constitution. Nor does the profession of belief known as the Thirty-nine Articles contain the doctrine of the Divine institution of episcopacy. Article XXXVI does not go beyond the statement that the Prayer-Book form of ordination contains all things necessary for consecration or ordination and has in it nothing which in itself is superstitious or impious. . . . In Article XXIII . . . it is not maintained that a bishop only can ordain; on the contrary, a phrase is used—obviously by design—applicable also to a non-episcopal constitution, that the call is to be by those persons to whom has been publicly committed in the Church the

[1] Gairdner, "History of the English Church in the Sixteenth Century," p. 291.

power of calling ministers and sending them into the vineyard of the Lord. . . .

"Canon 7 of 1604 . . . rejects only the contention that episcopacy is in opposition to Scripture; it is not maintained that it is ordered in the Bible as the sole permissible constitution. Canon 55 of 1604 prescribes the prayer: '*Precamini pro Christi sancta Ecclesia Catholica, id est, pro universo coetu Christiani populi per orbem terrarum diffusi*' (i.e. *without* limitation to the Churches with episcopal constitution). In the canons of 1640 only in an indirect manner and by the addition of a phrase of double meaning (applicable equally to human and Divine law) was the attempt made to obtain acknowledgment of a Divine institution of episcopacy. . . . The validity of these canons" (i.e. of 1640) "is, however, doubtful, and as early as 1640 a royal ordinance directed that the taking of the oath" (prescribed by c. 6, which contained the ambiguous expression) "should not be enforced."[1]

[1] Makower, "Constitutional History of the Church of England," ed. 1895, pp. 179-180 and 180 note 9.

CHAPTER IV.

THE EXILES IN ENGLAND.

The other significant incident in the reign of Edward VI was the evidence afforded as to the cordial and brotherly relationship existing throughout the Protestant world by the welcome accorded to the exiles, who flocked to this country when in danger in their own. The main cause of the advent of these people to England was the defeat inflicted on the German Protestants by the Emperor Charles V at the Battle of Mühlberg, in April, 1547, and the imposition of the Augsburg Interim of 1548. Unable to accept these conditions hundreds of Protestants fled to England. They were a very mixed multitude; some of them men of conspicuous learning and holiness of life, many of them poor artizans and craftsmen, some of them quarrelsome and disturbers of public peace, some few of them Anabaptists and Socinians, who were not only heretics but a standing menace to the constitution and even to society.

Chief among those who welcomed these exiles was the Archbishop himself. Indeed for some years before this crisis he had given evidence of a true catholic spirit. As early as 1537, when Gualter, the Zurich divine, came to England to study and seek safety, Cranmer was one of the first to receive him, and the same welcome was accorded him by the Oxford professors and by many of the Court officials. To him

Cranmer was "the immortal Glory of England"; and certainly his large-heartedness entitled him to high praise.

Persecutions in France in 1549 drove many Huguenots across the seas and over to England, where a cordial welcome was given them.

The Archbishop's house was crowded and his hospitality taxed to the uttermost by the many who made claims on him.[1] Amongst those whom he entertained were Peter Martyr, Bucer, John a Lasco,[2] Paulus Fagius, Peter Alexander, and Bernardino Ochino. Many other generous hosts were not behind him in hospitality. But this reception did not consist merely in the extension of personal security to the exiles and the exchange of common civilities. As we have already noted, several of the greatest among them were found offices in the National Church and helped to shape its liturgy and to define its doctrinal standpoint.

Peter Martyr was an Italian. He was a singularly able scholar and became a canon-regular of the Order of St. Augustine. While preaching at Naples, his teaching, which had aroused great interest, awakened the suspicions of the authorities and he was summoned to appear before a chapter of his order in 1542. Martyr fled the city and escaped to Florence, where he joined Ochino. Thence he fled to Zurich and Strasburg, making a brief stay at Basle. He remained at Stras-

[1] Whitgift was, in his turn, most hospitable to the foreigners who were driven over into England in Elizabeth's reign (*Vide* Paule, "Life of Whitgift," ed. 1699, p. 85).

[2] "John a Lasco, a most excellent man. For he has resided with me upon most intimate and friendly terms for some months past and I pray you to give credit to whatever he may relate to you in my name." (Cranmer to Melanchthon, "Original Letters," P.S. ed., I, p. 23.)

burg for five years and there married his first wife, who had been a nun. In 1547 he was invited to England by the Archbishop and was shortly after appointed Regius Professor at Oxford and canon of the cathedral. He was a firm opponent of Lutheranism—so much so, that after his expulsion from England in Mary's reign the feeling aroused against him was so strong that he was not suffered to remain at Strasburg, whither he had returned, but had to pass on to Zurich.[1]

Martin Bucer, who held the corresponding position at Cambridge, was also a scholar of distinction. He had been a Dominican, but became associated with the new opinions and ultimately a leading reformer. He established the precedent, which was followed by Martyr and Luther, of marrying a nun. Strasburg was his headquarters and he remained there for some time before coming to England. He died at Cambridge in 1551.

Paulus Fagius was a Hebraist of great reputation. He had been a schoolmaster and a pastor in Germany and afterwards accepted a professor's chair at Strasburg. Thence he was called to Heidelberg University to strengthen the Protestant position in that city. England did not suit his constitution, and he left Lambeth for Cambridge hoping the change of air would prove beneficial, but he died after a few months.

Bernardino Ochino was an Italian. He at first joined the order of Observantine Franciscans, but his zeal impelled him to join the even more rigorous order of Capuchins, of which he became vicar-general. His orthodoxy was suspected and he was cited before the

[1] "You know why that worthy Martyr of pious memory could no longer remain at Strasburg; and therefore, he removed to Zurich." ("Zurich Letters," Vol. II, p. 111.)

Inquisition. Though a man of extraordinary eloquence he had "small acquirements, but was unswerving in devotion to the cause he had embraced".[1] When he fell under suspicion, he fled to Geneva, and thence to Augsburg, where he became the pastor of the Italian Church in 1545. He came to England with Peter Martyr and was made a prebendary of Canterbury. Later in life he became unsound in views and died a Deist.

In 1549 the Archbishop drew up a series of sermons against the rebels in the West Country. Both Martyr and Bucer were invited to contribute sermons. In the same year the former was lecturing at Oxford on 1 Corinthians. In his lectures he enlarged upon the doctrine of the Holy Communion. These lectures were dedicated to Cranmer and printed in London, and two years later at Zurich. The sacramental views of both the professors had provoked opposition at their Universities. They were called upon to justify their position in public disputation. Nothing loath, they did so. The fact above noted, that Martyr's work was printed and dedicated to Cranmer, is sufficient proof that he was entirely in line with the views then held by the leading English reformers.

Bucer undertook in 1550 "a learned reading" on the power and use of the ministry. His work was entitled, "Ordinatio Ecclesiæ, seu Ministerii Ecclesiastici in florentissimo Angliæ regno". In it he showed his substantial agreement with, and approval of, the English method and ministerial ideals.[2]

[1] Hardwick, "History of the Christian Church during the Reformation," p. 108.

[2] Although he did not regard the bishop as differing in *order* from the priest, but only in *rank*. But this was an opinion supported by many great theologians, Roman Catholics amongst the number.

In 1551 Cranmer undertook the revision of the Ecclesiastical Laws; the list of divines who assisted, given by Strype, includes the names of both Peter Martyr and John a Lasco. This revision of these "Canons, constitutions, and ordinances, provincial and synodal and . . . laws ecclesiastical" had been ordered by Henry VIII in 1544, and the act passed in that year enjoined that "sixteen spiritual and sixteen temporal" should undertake the work.[1] Martyr had an exceptionally large share in this undertaking. Strype saw the manuscript of these laws; the earlier part of the work was revised by Cranmer, who delegated the latter part to Martyr. "In many places there be his own corrections and additions, and sometimes a cross by him struck through divers lines. And so he proceeded a good way in the book. And where the Archbishop left off, Peter Martyr went on, by his order, to revise the rest in the method he had begun."[2] This book was almost identical with the "Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum," published by Archbishop Parker in 1571 and again printed in 1640. John Fox, who had the opportunity of comparing the two, says that re-arrangement and alteration of titles were practically the only variations.

Under the *régime* of Archbishop Grindal in Elizabeth's reign the consideration of Church discipline came up in Convocation, and in the argument before that body an interesting reference was made to the opinions of these foreigners on this point. "The means that were thought fit to be used, instead of excommunication, by Archbishop Cranmer, Peter Martyr, Bucer, Mr. Haddon, and others, that did assemble at that time for that purpose,

[1] Cf. "Original Letters," P.S. ed., p. 503.
[2] Strype, "Cranmer," I, 133.

were imprisonment or mulct pecuniary, etc." [1] Sufficient has, however, been said to show that the Church of England regarded these men with more than mere tolerance. It welcomed them to its councils, it asked and often followed their advice, it gave them preferment and high office.

But we must turn from the leaders to consider the lot of the main body of exiles. In a previous chapter we enlarged upon the principle recognized throughout Protestant Christendom of acknowledging the liberty of national Churches in non-essentials. This theory was put into practice faithfully as far as circumstances allowed. Provision was made for these foreign exiles to worship God in their own way, and their rights were never imperilled [2] except once by Archbishop Laud. This prelate in his characteristic way rode rough-shod over these national susceptibilities. He sent certain injunctions to the French, Dutch, and Walloon congregations which ran as follows:—

"1. That all the natives (i.e. born in England of foreign parentage) of the Dutch and Walloon congregations in His Grace's diocese, should repair to their several parish churches . . . to hear Divine service and sermons, and perform all duties and payments required in that behalf.

"2. That the ministers and all other of the Dutch and Walloon congregations, which were not natives and born subjects to the King's Majesty . . . might have and use their own discipline, as formerly they have done,

[1] Grindal, "Remains," P.S., p. 453.

[2] "Though the churchwardens of the parishes in which they lived demanded reasons for their non-attendance at the parish churches until the matter was settled by the Lord Chancellor, Goodrich, Bishop of Ely." (*Vide* Strype, "Cranmer," II, 237.)

yet it was thought fit that the English liturgy should be translated into French and Dutch, for the better settling of their children to the English Government."

Such resentment was felt at this departure from precedent that it was made one of the articles of Laud's impeachment by the Commons that "he hath traitorously endeavoured to cause division and discord betwixt the Church of England and other reformed Churches; and to that end hath suppressed and abrogated the privileges and immunities which have been by his Majesty and his royal ancestors granted to the Dutch and French Churches in this kingdom".[1]

We note this here only to make clear that Laud's attitude was an exception to the otherwise invariable rule.

It is impossible to refer to more than two or three of these foreign settlements. In 1550 the King granted a charter for the exercise of their religion to a community of foreign Protestants with permission to use the church of the Augustinian Friars in London. John a Lasco, a Polish nobleman resident in England, was to be their superintendent, and four foreigners were appointed ministers. The Charter bears the date 24 July,

[1] Burn, "History of Protestant Refugees," pp. 15 and 16, note. Laud carried his dislike of the foreign reformed Churches to great lengths. When a brief was appointed to be read in the Churches for sufferers in the Palatinate, in which they were said to possess the same religion as ourselves, he insisted upon this being struck out. He instigated Lord Scudamore, the English Ambassador, to break off communicating with the Huguenots at Charenton outside Paris. Leicester, who succeeded Scudamore, rejected Laud's advice and went to Charenton, for which "the Archbishop did him all the ill offices he could to the King, representing him as a Puritan and consequently in his method an enemy to monarchical government." (Blencowe, "Sydney Papers," ed. 1825, pp. 260-1.)

1550, and in it the King explicitly states his will that these foreigners should have free and unfettered power to observe the religion of the Gospel of Christ according to the custom of their own country. The scheme did not work particularly well, as the French Protestants had to use the same building; they, therefore, acquired the lease of the church of St. Anthony's Hospital in Threadneedle Street "for the use of the French and Dutch Churches for sermons and administrations of Sacraments". A mutual agreement was made between the two communities whereby the French removed to the newly acquired building but retained their rights to use the building occupied by the Dutch congregation.

This French congregation is of peculiar interest as it formed the beginning of the Huguenot Church which still worships in London. In 1843, they built a new church in the City. The Bishop of London was invited to the opening ceremony, but for reasons of health was unable to comply. Indeed it was seriously debated whether he should not be invited to consecrate the building.[1]

Another French congregation of equal interest was that which met at Canterbury and in 1561 was granted permission by Queen Elizabeth to worship in the crypt of the cathedral. These refugees were weavers of silk and cloth, and by charter were enabled to become a company. They were at first strictly limited in numbers, but no restrictions were placed upon them in the exercise of their religion. The successors of these Huguenots still worship in the same place.

Another important community was the French and Walloon "Church of strangers" established at Glastonbury. "The good Duke of Somerset, to whom the

[1] Burn, op. cit. 25-7.

dissolved abbey of Glastonbury was granted, settled them there by indenture between him and them, with a promise to lend them money to buy wools and necessaries to carry on their manufacture, and allotted them rooms for their dwelling, and ascertained certain portions of land for feeding their cows; and, lastly, appointed one Henry Cornish to be their chief overseer."[1] With the approval of the Archbishop the preacher chosen as their superintendent was "Valerandus Pollanus, a man of great worth both for learning and integrity".[2] When the Duke fell into disgrace, their fortunes changed for the worse. "Cornish . . . proved very deceitful and false to them,"[3] and the situation became very grave and for fifteen months Pollanus received no stipend. By the intervention of the privy council, however, things took a better turn until the Church was suppressed on the accession of Mary.

From a merely commercial point of view these foreign settlements deserve mention. Most of the refugees were skilled manufacturers of linen, silk, and woollen stuffs. From time to time both in London and in the provincial towns there was serious trouble, the retail tradesmen and apprentices even raising riots, complaining of general interference with their business and underselling by the foreigners.[4] But there is no doubt that their presence in England and skill in weaving was an invaluable incentive and in many cases established industries which have been of the greatest benefit to this country.

[1] *ap.* Burn, op. cit. p. 90.

[2] Strype, "Cranmer," II, 242. [3] *Ibid.* 243.

[4] "In the year 1595, the poor tradesmen made a riot upon the strangers in Southwark and other parts of the City of London . . . the leaders were punished and also the chief offenders" (Stow, "Survey of London," ed. 1720, v. p. 303).

A return must now be made to consider the influence of perhaps the most remarkable of these refugees. John a Lasco was a Polish nobleman. He was a man of great learning and of a most distinguished family. "By his brother's influence he . . . is said to have been provided to the bishopric of Veszprim in Hungary, but his name does not appear among the bishops either of that see or of Cujavia in his own country of Poland which he is said afterwards to have obtained."[1] In 1542 he became pastor of the Reformed Church at Emden. He held very extreme sacramental views and was a very uncompromising person. He came to England as Cranmer's guest in 1549.

When Hooper refused to wear the surplice a Lasco felt himself called upon to support him. He also demanded to be entirely free from the jurisdiction of the Bishop of London, Ridley. The situation looked serious enough at one time, but Cranmer smoothed the difficulty over and things took a happier turn.[2] A controversy ensued between a Lasco and Bucer on the Vestiarian question. The latter took a far broader and sounder view of the matter, as did also Peter Martyr, who wrote to Hooper declaring that in his judgment the surplice was *ἀδιάφορον*.

For this and other similar reasons a Lasco fell into bad odour. "There is one thing," writes Strype, "that is wont to be urged against him, and which makes him to this day be somewhat ill thought of; which was, that he opposed himself so openly, by writing against the habits prescribed for the clergy, and the posture of kneeling at the reception of the Holy Sacrament:

[1] Gairdner, "History of the English Church in the Sixteenth Century," p. 283.

[2] *Vide* "Original Letters," P.S. II, 568.

whereby he incurred the censure of a meddling temper, and of ingratitude to that nation that so kindly had entertained him."[1] Heylin was apparently one of those who had no liking for him. He denounces him as an abuser of hospitality and the raiser of strife, and on his enforced departure from England during the winter storms of 1553 he writes, "So farewell to John a Lasco; it was an ill wind which brought him hither and a worse he could not have for his going back."[2] He was accompanied by 175 of his co-religionists, and it illustrates the feeling between Calvinists and Lutherans to note that the magistrates of Helsingor in Denmark[3] refused to allow him to land. Hamburg, Lübeck, and Rostock followed suit. But at Dantzig better feeling was shown him.

That some friction should have been created between extremists among the foreigners and extremists at home is not surprising, but the broad lines of agreement were many. Indeed in 1548 Cranmer began to attempt the formulation of a plan for the union of Protestant Christendom. He first disclosed his scheme to Melanchthon. The union was to be based upon the adoption of "one common confession and harmony of faith and doctrine, drawn out of the pure Word of God, which they might all own and agree in". A conference with this object in view was to meet in England. The King

[1] Op. cit. II, 239.

[2] "History of the Reformation," Vol. II, p. 102.

[3] "Our friend a Lasco . . . had gone into Denmark with his (congregation of) foreigners, but was received there with much harshness, not to say barbarity: not indeed, as I suppose, through the fault of the King, but of the doctors and ministers of the Church, by whose preaching and attacks he and his friends were at length driven away from the kingdom." ("Original Letters," P.S. ed. pp. 512, 513.)

gave his consent and full approval. In addition to Melanchthon, Cranmer also wrote to Bullinger and Calvin, who were eager to get to work.[1] Indeed the latter afterwards wrote reproachfully to the Archbishop that he had not forced the matter forward more speedily, but Cranmer was far too statesmanlike to cast caution to the winds. It was proposed that the lines of the Augsburg Confession should be followed "only that some few points in controversy might be in plainer words delivered than was in that". The attitude of Continental Protestantism was also strongly on the side of the union of forces. Edward VI and his Government commanded the confidence of those abroad, and at this time it looked as if England was to become the centre of the Protestant world and the arbiter of its destinies.

"They took such great joy and satisfaction in this good King and his establishment of religion, that the heads of them—Bullinger, Calvin, and others—in a letter to him (1549) offered to make him their defender, and to have bishops in their Churches as there were in England, with the tender of their service to assist and unite together. This nettled the learned at the Council of Trent, who came to the knowledge of it by some of their private intelligencers; and they verily thought that all the heretics, as they called them, would now unite among themselves, and become one body, receiving the same discipline exercised in England. Which if it should happen, and that they should have heretical bishops near them in those parts, they concluded that Rome and her clergy would utterly fall." [2]

The death of Edward and the accession of Mary checked any advances at that time in this direction.

[1] *Vide* "Original Letters," P.S. ed., pp. 17, 23, 24, 25.

[2] Strype, "Cranmer," II, 207-208.

In 1560 this scheme was again advanced from two different directions. "A letter of certain articles of religion as it seems was sent to the Queen (Elizabeth) from some learned men in Germany, to propound an accommodation for union among all that professed the Gospel." The matter was referred to Archbishop Parker. In the same year, Calvin again raised the question. He wrote a letter in which he "made a serious motion of uniting Protestants together. He entreated the Archbishop to prevail with her Majesty to summon a general assembly of all the Protestant clergy wheresoever dispersed; and that a set form and method (i.e. of public service and government of the Church) might be established, not only within her dominions, but also among all the Reformed and Evangelic Churches abroad."[1] The Archbishop was directed by the Queen's council to thank the writer and to express their approval, but at the same time to make quite clear that the Church of England was determined to retain its episcopacy. As we have already noted, neither Calvin, Bullinger, nor most of the great Continental reformers would have regarded this as an insuperable obstacle. For episcopacy they had great reverence; but they had for their part to choose between that and pure doctrine, and, rightly, preferred the latter.

Calvin's death was only one of several causes which put an end to this project.

But we must now recall our attention to the refugees in England. One of the earliest events of Mary's reign was to order their departure from England. Some of them had difficulty, as marked men, in obtaining her

[1] Strype, "Parker," II, 69.

permission to depart, but over this we need not delay. It will be most satisfactory to conclude in this chapter our notices of these refugees, although it throws matters out of their historical order.

Elizabeth was scarcely seated upon her throne when they began to flock back from the Continent. Thousands settled in the eastern counties, as many as four thousand, it is computed, in Norwich alone.[1] "They were chiefly artizans, persons of inferior education," many were extremely troublesome and quarrelsome. The settlers in Norwich made themselves peculiarly objectionable. There were at least three separate congregations, each under its own minister, Theophilus, Anthonius, and Isbrandus, and these indulged in almost incessant disputes with one another.[2] Hospitality was put to a cruel test, friendship was taxed to the uttermost, Christian fellowship was more a name than a fact with such people.

In London and elsewhere similar disputes arose. Parkhurst, Bishop of Norwich, who was most sympathetic and friendly, was in despair. He wrote to Bullinger on 10 August, 1571, stating the case. Two years previously, he says, there arose "an implacable quarrel, here at Norwich, among the foreigners". . . . "You would scarcely believe what labour I have undergone, to say nothing of expense, during the whole time; and yet these refractory people will not give up a single point. I have always treated them with the greatest mildness and consideration, though of late a little harshly, contrary to my nature. . . . The English, I allow, were somewhat troublesome in Germany, but if you compare

[1] Marsden, "History of the Early Puritans," p. 38.
[2] Strype, "Annals," II, 118.

them with these, they were quietness itself. I do not in the least exaggerate." [1]

The situation was also complicated by the presence of Anabaptist revolutionaries and Socinian heretics in the eastern counties.[2]

Eventually the difficulty was solved by the banishment of the troublesome ministers and order was restored. So Parkhurst wrote to Bullinger on 20 January, 1573, in a more hopeful vein. "Since those three quarrelsome preachers have been sent away from hence, the greatest quiet and unanimity is prevailing in the Dutch Church." [3]

The French refugees had also received hospitality in London. The hospital of St. Anthony was again handed over to them by the Crown, in whose patronage it was, and there a congregation of some four hundred lived peaceably. Utenhovius, a former member of a Lasco's congregation, was the prime mover in securing hospitality for his German and Dutch brethren. He came to England bringing Edward VI's charter and sought its confirmation by the Queen. This was at first refused, but the refugees selected the Bishop (Grindal) as their superintendent, and eventually they were restored to their former position in the land.

Elizabeth's attitude towards these foreigners was most kindly. In 1560 she wrote a letter to the refugees in London which ran as follows: "We are not ignorant that the ceremonies, etc., have been different in the

[1] "Zurich Letters," P.S. ed., Vol. I, p. 256.

[2] "Some of them proving to be Anabaptists, others infected with unsound opinions of as ill a nature, but all endeavouring to disperse their heretical doctrines, and, by envenoming the good people among whom they lived, to increase their sects." (Heylin, op. cit. Vol. II, 337.)

[3] "Zurich Letters," p. 278.

various Churches since the birth of Christianity—in some the congregation prayed standing, in others kneeling—it is nevertheless the same religion provided their prayers are addressed to the same God. We do not despise *your* service, and we do not constrain you to adopt ours. We approve of your ceremonies inasmuch as they accord best with the countries whence you come." [1] Here we have the same large-hearted spirit and the full recognition of national liberty which was one of the accepted principles of the Reformation.

Grindal's association with these Churches was more than mere patronage of fellow-Christians in distress and is quite subversive of any idea of exclusiveness, much less contempt for them and their views. He addressed them as "my very dear brothers and friends in the Lord". He considered himself responsible for their views and the proper administration of discipline among them. This appears in two noteworthy instances in which he used his authority to correct doctrinal errors and loose discipline.

Hadrian Hamstead, a member of the foreign Church, was suspected of Anabaptist error. This he stoutly denied; but, according to the judgment of the day, his latitudinarianism was dangerous. In July, 1562, Grindal drew up a recantation for him to sign, concluding: "I have very justly deserved this and . . . the said Bishop of London hath dealt orderly with me".[2] Hadrian refused to sign this recantation, and the excommunication, which the Bishop had formerly issued against him and his sympathizers in April, 1561, was therefore confirmed by his order.[3]

[1] *ap.* Burn, *ibid.* p. 4. [2] Grindal, "Remains," p. 445.
[3] Strype, "Grindal," I, 45.

A somewhat similar case was that of Justus Velsius, who had been a member of the foreign Church and had written in Holland an erroneous book. Because of his connexion with the community under his charge, Grindal felt himself called upon to deal with the matter. This he did by writing a public condemnation of the man and his teaching.[1]

There were numerous other foreign settlements besides those referred to, and their relations with succeeding kings and bishops are extremely interesting, but enough has been said to indicate clearly the light in which they were regarded, and the treatment extended to them by the authorities in the English Church and State.

[1] Strype, "Grindal," I, 92; and Grindal, "Remains," p. 438.

CHAPTER V.

ENGLISH REFUGEES ON THE CONTINENT.

The reaction under Queen Mary resulted not only in the return of the Continental Protestants but also in the flight from the country of many of the leaders in the English Reformation. Hundreds fled abroad, including a very great many married clergy and a considerable number of lay people. The reception they met with is instructive, illustrating, as it does, the closeness of the bond between the English and Protestant Reformed Churches of the Continent, and the precarious nature of the union between the former and the Lutherans.

The view of the Sacraments adopted by the English exiles was as objectionable to the Lutherans as it was to the Roman Church.[1] So much so that little hospitality was shown them in Saxony or Lutheran Germany. The welcome was worse than cold and in some cases they were compelled to leave the cities. From Wesel they would have been expelled, but Melanchthon intervened, pleading that "their case ought to be weighed by

[1] "It was not easy for these refugees to find places in which to settle; for France was barred to them, and Protestant Germany abhorred their sacramental doctrine not less than the Church of Rome did." Gairdner, *ibid.* p. 391. Cf. also "Original Letters," P.S. ed., p. 513: "You need not doubt but that those men, by reason of the controversy respecting the Eucharist, regard us as worse than papists."

friendly disputes and not exploded by noise and hissing".[1] Thither fled Young, afterwards Archbishop of York, and Scory, Bishop of Chichester, and some hundred of their fellow-countrymen. In their services they used the Prayer Book, which gave general satisfaction, and no disputes seem to have arisen.

But in Strasburg, Frankfort, Zurich, Emden, Basle, Geneva, and Aarau, they were cordially received and the same liberty given them as they in turn had given to the refugees in Edward's reign.

Free religious intercourse with the Calvinists and amongst themselves was permitted to them. Bullinger at Zurich played somewhat the same part towards them that Cranmer had done to his co-religionists, when they came to England in their need.

Many of these exiles were very poor; they either had little property or else what they had had been confiscated by Mary, and they were dependent upon their own exertions or, as in many cases, upon charity. This last was forthcoming, however, from two sources. The Protestants in England made secret collections which were sent abroad and successfully reached the hands for which they were intended. But Bishop Gardiner soon detected what was going on, and took immediate and effective steps to check this supply.[2] When this failed, the magistrates of the various cities made generous grants of money to their guests, and many friends in even higher positions came to their help. A high-placed and generous friend was found in the Duke of Würtem-

[1] Strype, "Cranmer," III, 354.

[2] "Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, solemnly vowed so to stop their sending of all supplies unto them, that 'for very hunger they should eat their own nails and then feed on their fingers' ends'." (Fuller, "Church History," ed. 1837, Vol. II, p. 419.)

berg. "This Duke" was "very kind unto the English exiles, having at one time bestowed among them at Strasburg four or five hundred dollars, besides more given them at Frankfort." The King of Denmark, Henry, Prince Palatine of the Rhine, Wolfgang, Duke of Bipont, and many others gave bountifully to them.[1] Some of the exiles were people of great wealth [2] and these very generously contributed to the needs of their fellow-sufferers. A London merchant, living in Germany, Thomas Eaton by name, was so princely in his gifts that he earned the title of "host-general" of the English Protestants.

But many of the exiles were able to support themselves in various ways. At Basle, some of them obtained appointments as "overseers and correctors for the press," some of them possessed of higher attainments made a livelihood by their writings. At Emden, Cranmer's treatise on the Holy Communion was translated into Latin and circulated. Others at Geneva were invited by Calvin and Beza to assist in retranslating the Bible. Among these was William Whittingham, to whom several references will be made. He also assisted in turning into metre some of the Psalms in Sternhold and Hopkins' version.[3] Many others were occupied in quiet study with Bullinger at Zurich.

Strasburg was one of the most important centres. There were there some of the greatest of the English reformers, amongst others Jewel, Poynet, Grindal, and Sandys. Books and tracts were written from this

[1] Fuller, op. cit. Vol. II, p. 420.

[2] *Vide* Fuller, op. cit. Vol. II, pp. 419, 420.

[3] Fuller speaks of the composers of this version as men "whose piety was better than their poetry; and they had drank more of Jordan than of Helicon," op. cit. Vol. II, p. 336.

centre and smuggled over into England. This policy was very doubtful in its wisdom, for it is certain that many of these writings, whose authors were smarting under persecution, succeeded in lashing their enemies into fury and provoking reprisals on the Protestants in England.

The English Church at Frankfort complained to Calvin on one occasion, to which we shall refer immediately, that a certain pamphlet written by Knox, not the most manageable of men, "added much oil to the flame of persecution in England. For, before the publication of that book, not one of our brethren had suffered death; but, as soon as it came forth, we doubt not but that you are well aware of the number of excellent men who have perished in the flames; to say nothing of how many godly men besides, have been exposed to the risk of all their property and even life itself, upon the sole ground of either having had this book in their possession, or of having read it." [1]

A great deal of this probably applies also to the pamphlets which others besides Knox had written and sent to England.[2]

Another notable name among the exiles was John Fox, the martyrologist. After a stay in Frankfort, he went to Basle, which was the scene of his work. He spared no labour to be accurate in his writings. One of the sources of his information was Grindal, who was living at Strasburg. From him Fox received much advice and help by letter, and it was a great disappointment to him that he could not prevail upon his correspondent to remove to Basle. This Grindal could not see his way to do, but he commended to Fox a com-

[1] "Troubles at Frankfort," 1908 ed., pp. 90-2.
[2] Cf. Strype, "Cranmer," III, 356 ff.

patriot, who was then at Basle, Pilkington, afterwards Bishop of Durham, a man "of most exact judgment, with whom he might sometimes communicate counsels". So doubtless he too had a hand in Fox's work. In several of these English communities disputes arose indicating a wide divergence of views between two sections of the congregation. At Basle a disagreement arose as to the service to be used in public worship. Some of the English disliked the Prayer Book and urged that their reason for refusing to use it was the disapproval of the magistrates. "When we require to have common prayers according to our English order," wrote Bale, "they tell us that the magistrates will in no case suffer it, which is a most manifest lie. . . . They blaspheme our Communion, calling it a popish Mass, and say that it hath a popish face, with other fierce despisings."[1] Here was clearly the seed of great trouble in the near future.

What we have already said describes in general terms the position of the exiles.

There is, however, one incident which requires more careful notice for many reasons. Although interesting in itself, and therefore deserving of attention, the significance of the affair is much greater as it illustrates the unstable equilibrium of the English Protestant mind, and was a foretaste of the more serious trouble which occurred in England in the next reign. "It records the very beginning of the rift between the English Conformists and Nonconformists. . . . It describes the formation, the continuance, and the destruction of the first Nonconformist Church in English history."[2]

In June, 1554, a company of English refugees came

[1] Lathbury, "History of English Episcopacy," ed. 1836, p. 29.

[2] Arber, Introduction to "Troubles at Frankfort," ed. 1908, p. xii.

to Frankfort under the leadership of William Whittingham. Valerandus Pollanus, the head of the foreign Church located at Glastonbury in Edward VI's reign, full of the appreciation of the kindness shown him and his countrymen, came to welcome them to the city. A church had been given to him by the authorities, and this building he offered to share with the English exiles. The Magistrates gave their sanction and ordered that both parties should use the church on alternate days during the week, and that, on Sundays, the hours of service should be so arranged that each party could worship in their own fashion. Letters were sent out by the English to Emden, Zurich, Strasburg, etc., on 2 August announcing their good fortune and inviting others of their countrymen to join them.

Whether by mistake or deliberately, the exiles at Strasburg misunderstood this letter and took upon them to appoint a pastor for the Frankfort church. Grindal pressed Scory, who was living at Emden, to fill the post. He twice offered his services, but the community at Frankfort were determined to reserve to themselves the selection of their own ministers. They chose Knox, who was at Geneva, Haddon, from Strasburg, who declined, and Lever from Zurich.

The next question to be decided was the form of service to be used. The full use of the Prayer Book was not sanctioned by the magistrates of the city, and there was more than a likelihood of the English using this partial refusal as a justification for throwing the English Liturgy overboard altogether. Grindal came from Strasburg to plead that "the substance of the book" should be retained, allowing that "ceremonies and things which the country could not bear might well be omitted". Knox and Whittingham demanded "what

the substance of the book" might mean, and, not receiving an answer to their satisfaction, proceeded to model their services on the order of Geneva. This of course caused trouble, and then Knox made a scoffing digest of the Prayer Book and submitted it to Calvin, hoping for a denunciation from the Genevan oracle which would strengthen his position. This was not forthcoming. Calvin's remarks were patronizing but not entirely adverse.

The next arrivals were a band of exiles under the leadership of Dr. Richard Cox, who had had a large share in the drawing up of the Prayer Book in the late King's reign. Through the influence of Knox these newcomers were admitted to Church membership. It was only to be expected that Cox would oppose the line taken by Knox and Whittingham, but the method adopted was not calculated to smooth matters. He and his sympathizers insisted upon responding aloud in the service—a practice peculiarly objectionable to the section of the congregation led by Knox. On the Sunday following his arrival at Frankfort, 17 March, one of his company got up suddenly into the pulpit and insisted upon reading the Litany, Cox and his friends loudly responding!

Knox was the last man to be outdone in high-handed action, and preaching that afternoon he denounced the newcomers in strong language. Cox, Sandys, and their sympathizers were determined to oust him from his post and have things their own way. They were resolute that their service should have "the face of an English Church". They laid hold of some of his sayings and writings, notably the book already referred to, and accused him to the magistrates as a provoker of serious trouble and one likely to bring upon any who sheltered him the anger of the Emperor, not to mention the French and English Queens. He was therefore ordered

to leave the city,[1] and by-and-by Whittingham, John Fox, and others followed his example, leaving Cox and Sandys in possession.

The whole affair was deplorable and there were few, if any, of the parties concerned who came out of it with credit. The subsequent troubles in the same congregation we need not dwell upon as they are not to our purpose.[2]

Whittingham's further conduct in England will require notice later on. Knox returned to Geneva and was the means of establishing there the first English Presbyterian Church, in 1555. He was appointed chief minister and moderator of the session, and Christopher Goodman[3] and Anthony Gilbey assistant ministers. Among the elders appointed were Whittingham, Sampson, and Miles Coverdale, formerly Bishop of Exeter. These English Presbyterians were ardent and sincere in their attachment to the new system. It suited their tastes exactly. "It made no terms with the old Catholic Church. It fought Rome with its own weapons; it waged war to the knife with the papacy."[4] Their very justifiable fear of Rome developed to an extraordinary degree until it assumed an hysterical form which was pathetic and almost ludicrous and destined to produce sad results in the English Church.

[1] "Master Knox, being most unjustly charged before the magistrate with high treason, has been ordered to quit the place, not without the regret of all good men and even of the magistrate himself. He is, therefore, on his way to you and will explain the whole matter in order." ("Original Letters," P.S. ed., p. 765.)

[2] But *vide* "Troubles at Frankfort" for the whole subject, and Heylin, op. cit. Vol. II, p. 176 ff.

[3] For an interesting reference to Goodman and the hostility he awakened in the English bishops, *vide* "Life of Bishop Compton," ed. 1715, p. 71.

[4] Henson, "Cross-bench Views," p. 304.

CHAPTER VI.

REFORMED ORDERS IN THE ENGLISH CHURCH.

With the reign of Elizabeth the pendulum of religious thought swung back in the direction of reform. It is saying much for the parties at the head of affairs in the Church that, after the experience of the previous reign, the acute reaction which would naturally be expected was so long kept in check. Extreme caution was observed at every step. Blunders, serious and far-reaching, were certainly made, but, under the circumstances, these were almost unavoidable. It would have needed far wiser men than were forthcoming to have successfully dealt with the difficult situation of this epoch.

The evidence relating to our inquiry is very tangled, but it is none the less clear. The reign produced two antagonistic parties, both of which were new creations in our Reformed Church: the ultra-puritan faction and the ultra-episcopal party. These two had a curious mutual effect upon one another. The former ultimately degenerated into Dissent, largely through reaction from the extreme views of the latter, who, by-and-by, became the dominant party in the Church. The exalted and exclusive claim for episcopacy which characterized the latter party was almost entirely produced by a reaction caused by the destructive criticism of the ultra-puritans, which was the chief feature in

the position taken up by them.[1] The consideration of this question we shall try to keep till the next chapter, but the main facts must be borne in mind to appreciate properly the argument that will now engage our attention.

Many of our countrymen had sought refuge on the Continent, as we have already seen, during the Marian persecution. The accession of Elizabeth brought these men home again; all of them with friendly feelings towards their former hosts; many of them with a kindly tolerance towards the Presbyterian system of Church government; some few with a marked and declared preference for it. Some of these returned exiles were marked out for high preferment in the Church. Such were Grindal, Sandys, Horn, Cox, Parkhurst, Pilkington, Jewel.

These men had worshipped and communicated for months with the reformers at Zurich, Geneva, Frankfort, Strasburg, Basle, Aarau, etc. It is as certain as anything possibly can be that no idea of the invalidity of Presbyterian orders ever crossed the mind of one of them. Quite the reverse indeed. Not only had these leaders of our Church the tenderest affection for the Continental divines but they constantly deferred to the opinion of their late hosts. When trouble arose at home with the extreme Puritans, they (the bishops) were eager to set themselves right in the eyes of the great

[1] "Nowhere is the claim (i.e. of Divine right for episcopacy) asserted in the Articles, Homilies, or formularies of the Church: and if some bishops adopted it, the cause is to be found in the extravagant pretensions of the Presbyterians. 'It was not till afterwards,' says Hallam, speaking of this period, 'that the defenders of the established order found out that one claim of Divine right was best met by another.'" (Lathbury, op. cit. p. 65.)

reformers abroad.[1] It would be difficult to find a suggestion on the part of any of the representative men in our Church at this time that the Continental ministry was suffering from any defect which might impair the efficacy of its work, much less invalidate it. This is the axiom underlying all the intimate relations existing between the Protestant Churches at home and abroad. To deny it would be to make what is perfectly straightforward utterly unintelligible and meaningless.

Some of the returned exiles had received their call to the ministry abroad, and had, therefore, been ordained under the Presbyterian system. It remained to be seen what position they would find themselves in on their return to England. Let us examine this important point.

It is perfectly clear that these non-episcopally ordained ministers were in a weak position and open to easy attack by enemies. The law of the National Church was ordination by a bishop, and the position of a Presbyterian incumbent in our Church could easily be questioned *without casting the least aspersion upon his orders.* Let one of them be unfortunate enough to incur the displeasure of a superior and he was at once at the mercy of his enemy. He might reply that there were many in the same position as himself (which undoubtedly was so) but this did not alter the case. He had not conformed to the rule of the National Church and was,

[1] *Vide*, e.g. the long letter of explanation from Grindal and Horn to Bullinger and Gualter, 6 Feb., 1567 ("Zurich Letters," I, p. 175), concluding as follows: "Continue, therefore, to love, to advise, and to assist us, that the flame which has been stirred up among us solely on account of this affair of the habits may be extinguished".

therefore, at the last resort, only existing on sufferance.[1]

But though this point deserves mention it does not affect the fact that the authorities in both Church and State, at the least connived at, if not actually sanctioned, the ministry of many Presbyterian ministers in our Church.[2] In 1570 an Act was passed which was commonly regarded as legalizing the ministrations of Presbyterians in England conditional upon their subscription to the Articles. The Act was aimed definitely at ministers who had received Romish orders, but its application was general, and so it was commonly supposed to be for long afterwards. Strype declared it was meant "undoubtedly to comprehend Papists, and likewise such as received their orders in some of the foreign Reformed Churches when they were in exile under Queen Mary".[3] The clause in question runs as follows: "Be it enacted by the authority of this present Parliament, that every person under the degree of a bishop, which doth or shall pretend to be a priest or minister of God's Holy Word and Sacraments, by reason of any other form of institution,

[1] "The sticking at the admission of our brethren returned from Reformed Churches was not in the case of ordination but of institution; they had been acknowledged ministers of Christ without any other hands laid upon them; but according to the laws of our land, they were not, perhaps, capable of institution to a benefice unless they were so qualified as the statutes of this realm do require. And . . . I know those, more than one, that by virtue of that ordination which they have brought with them from other Reformed Churches, have enjoyed spiritual promotions and livings without any exception against the lawfulness of their calling." (Bishop J. Hall, "Defence of the Humble Remonstrance," p. 341.)

[2] This was partly due to a shortage in the supply of episcopal clergy.

[3] "Annals," II, 71.

consecration, or ordering, than the form set forth by Parliament in the time of the late King of most worthy memory, King Edward the Sixth, or now used in the reign of our most gracious Lady, before the feast of the Nativity of Christ next following, shall, in the presence of the bishop, or guardian of the spiritualities of some one diocese where he hath or shall have ecclesiastical living, declare his assent, and subscribe to all the articles of religion, which only concern the confession of the true Christian Faith, and the doctrine of the Sacraments . . . and shall bring from such bishop or guardian of spiritualities in writing, under his seal authentick, a testimonial of such assent and subscription, etc." .[1]

Keble is an unwilling witness to the above facts: "Nearly up to the time when Hooker wrote, numbers had been admitted to the ministry of the Church of England, with no better than Presbyterian ordination: and it appears by Travers' Supplication to the Council that such was the construction not uncommonly put upon the Statute of the 13th of Elizabeth, permitting those who had received orders in any other form than that of the English Service Book, on giving certain securities, to exercise their calling in England".[2]

The only remark in the above quotation we need question is the note of time. It was certainly permitted for long after Hooker's time. Burnet's testimony is clear and given so incidentally as to carry a conviction that would not be borne by a close argument: "Another point was fixed by the Act of Uniformity (1662) which was more at large formerly; those who came to England from the foreign Churches had not been required

[1] The Act is found in full in Sparrow's "Liturgical Tracts," ed. 1846.

[2] Keble's Preface to Hooker, p. lxxvi.

to be ordained among us; but now all that had not episcopal ordination were made incapable of holding any ecclesiastical benefice".[1]

Clarendon was among the most zealous supporters of this Act of 1662 so that peculiar interest attaches to his words. There is a note of regret evident when he says: "This was new: for there had been many and at present there were some, who possessed benefices with cure of souls and other ecclesiastical promotions, who had never received orders but in France or Holland; and these men must now receive new ordination, which had been always held unlawful in the Church, or by this Act of Parliament must be deprived of their livelihood which they enjoyed in the most flourishing and peaceable time of the Church".[2]

This testimony is confirmed by Fleetwood, who admits it was "certainly" the practice of our Church "during the reigns of King James and King Charles I and to the year 1661. We had many ministers from Scotland, from France and the Low Countries, who were ordained by presbyters only, and not bishops, and they were instituted into benefices with cure . . . and yet were never reordained but only subscribed the Articles."[3]

One or two notable cases might be instanced to make the point clearer. A certain John Morrison had applied for the Archbishop's licence in the year 1582. He had been the minister of Garvet in Scotland and had only Presbyterian orders. The Archbishop's (Grindal) Vicar-General granted the licence which, after referring to the

[1] Burnet's "History of his own Times," ed. 1838, p. 125.

[2] Clarendon, "Autobiography," ed. 1759, p. 152.

[3] Fleetwood, "Works," ed. 1854, Vol. III, pp. 201-2. *Vide* also the testimony of Bishop Hall on p. 72 note 1, and of Bishop Cosin on p. 123.

applicant as "ordained to sacred orders and the Holy Ministry," ran as follows: "We, therefore, as much as lies in us, and as by right we may, approving and ratifying the form of your ordination and preferment, done in such manner aforesaid, grant to you a licence and faculty, *with the consent and express command* of the most reverend Father in Christ, the Lord Edmund, by Divine Providence Archbishop of Canterbury, to us signified, that in such orders by you taken you may, and have power, in any convenient places, in and throughout the whole province of Canterbury to celebrate divine offices, to minister the Sacraments, etc., as much as in us lies, and we may *de jure*, and as far as the laws of the kingdom do allow," etc. [1]

Another notable case, which occurred much later, in 1618, is vouched for by Cosin. Dr. de Laune, who translated the English Liturgy into French, had been ordained by the Presbytery of Leyden, and having been presented with a living, applied to the Bishop of Norwich, Dr. Overall, for institution. The presentee appears to have desired reordination, but the bishop had scruples, maintaining the most he could undertake would be conditional ordination. "Yet," he said, "for mine own part, if you will adventure the orders that you have, I will admit your presentation, and give you institution into the living howsoever." The matter went no further. The title to the living was not proved good. "Yet afterwards Dr. de Laune was admitted into another benefice without any new ordination." [2]

There is one familiar case around which quite a controversy has raged. It is that of a man distinguished

[1] Strype's "Grindal," II, 271.
[2] Birch's "Life of Tillotson," pp. 170, 171.

not only because of the high dignity he held in the Church but also because of his eminence both as a saint and a divine. William Whittingham came under our notice as a supporter of John Knox in the dissensions among the English congregation at Frankfort. He had received ordination by the Presbyterian system at Geneva. As we have already seen, his party had been ousted from authority by the newcomers, one of whom was Sandys. The latter seems to have cherished a grudge against Whittingham and Whittingham appeared to have had very little confidence in his old antagonist. The feud was to be fought out in England.

In 1563 he was appointed Dean of Durham but was soon in hot water. As a Puritan the surplice and cope were very distasteful to him and in 1566 complaints were made against him. He confessed to having "ministered the Communion without either of these vestments".[1] He at length submitted and conformed to the law. It seems clear that the charge was not "ministering" the Communion, but doing so improperly vested.

In January, 1577, Sandys was made Archbishop of York and he lost little time in renewing the conflict, begun at Frankfort, with Whittingham. He instituted a visitation of the cathedral church. The Dean denied his right to visit, maintaining that this was the prerogative of the Bishop of Durham only. A most unseemly scene then took place. The door of the Chapter House was locked, the Dean holding the Bishop back by his gown from interfering. "Hereupon one of the prebends (. . . bearing ever a malignity to Master Whittingham . . .) went to the bishops; and acquainted them with

[1] "History of the English Church in the Reigns of Elizabeth and James I," Frere, p. 173.

a plot that he had devised which, if they would pursue, he doubted not but it would eject Master Whittingham out of his deanery: which they gladly hearkened to, and did with all forwardness pursue." [1]

The upshot was, the Dean was charged in July before a commission, more than fifty articles being preferred against him. They were found, after four days' sifting, to be all frivolous excepting two; that being only a Master of Arts he was incapable of holding a deanery, and that he was not made a "Minister after the orders of the Church of England but after the form of Geneva". It was objected further that he was "made minister by a few mean and lay persons in a private house at Geneva without the knowledge or consent of Mr. Calvin." [2] It seems perfectly clear that, had the last charge been sure ground, the enemies of the Dean would have been satisfied with it. But the very fact that he had remained undisturbed in his post for fourteen years "ministering" the Communion, makes it sufficiently clear that this objection was not enough to go upon.

To this last charge Dean Hutton, afterwards Archbishop of York, replied that he (Whittingham) "was ordained in better sort than even the Archbishop (Sandys) himself". [3] Sandys was worsted, but his influence secured him another commission of inquiry. This time the Lord President conducted the proceedings, and when the question of orders came up he exclaimed: "I cannot agree to deprive him for that cause alone; this would be ill taken by all the godly, both at home and abroad; that we allow of popish massing priests in our

[1] "Life of Whittingham" by a Student of the Temple, about 1603, printed in "Troubles at Frankfort," 1908 ed., p. 13.

[2] Strype, "Annals," III, 323.

[3] *Ibid.* 521.

ministry, and disallow of ministers made in a Reformed Church." [1]

Whittingham returned to Durham to die; but the Archbishop (Sandys), "whose malice did not cease to pursue him till death, did certify the Lords of the Council that Whittingham did keep his bed pretending sickness".[2]

No lengthy comment is needed on this case. It speaks for itself and clearly testifies to the mind of both Church and State upon the validity of the Presbyterian ministry. Even an Archbishop could not eject a personal enemy from the Church on such grounds.

Whitgift later on declared that had the Dean lived he would certainly have been deprived. After the several failures of Sandys it is by no means so certain, but, even so, it would have illustrated, not the mind of the English Church, but rather the reward that perseverance even in a bad cause commonly meets with. The very fact that the offender continued in his place for fourteen years and was undisturbed till marked down by his new Metropolitan, suggests the thought that the Church (if such were its mind) was a very long time finding out that anything was wrong.

But as we have already said, such ministrations were irregular in the Church, and, though not infrequent, yet the Presbyterian minister was in a precarious position if he should incur the enmity of a superior. The quarrel, in this case, again to quote Bishop Hall, "was not in the case of ordination but of institution".

Like Whittingham, Travers, the preacher at the Temple, was the central figure in a case of this character, but as his possessed quite a feature of its own it

[1] Marsden, "History of the Early Puritans," p. 234.
[2] "Life of Whittingham," *ibid.* p. 16.

deserves consideration. Further reference to him will be made subsequently, and the following facts will therefore be of interest. It seems possible that he had received deacon's orders in the Church, for he had a divinity degree from Cambridge,[1] but he deliberately went abroad to receive Presbyterian orders from the Synod of Antwerp in 1578. Now it is obvious that in this respect he was in a very different position from Whittingham, who had submitted to the best system available and whose conduct *could* therefore be reconciled with a spirit of loyalty to his own National Church. Travers, on the other hand, had deliberately flouted the English ordinal. He confessed not only to his preference for Presbyterian orders but spoke openly and offensively of the episcopal system. Deliberately to seek orders abroad was equivalent to slandering the National Church and passing censure upon its methods. It would have needed a spirit of tolerance far in advance of that of the time to tolerate this. But yet for all this, for several years he remained preacher at the Temple Church. He was a man of deep piety and real power, but a Puritan of the most radical type. His eloquent sermons to immense congregations were largely devoted to abuse of episcopacy and scurrilous reviling of the rites and ceremonies of the National Church. The Master of the Temple, Richard Hooker, was busily engaged in denying from the same pulpit, in his turn, the assertions of his lecturer. This scandalous condition of things could not be tolerated indefinitely. Travers was a traitor to the Church which provided him with his living, and it was his declared object to purge it of episcopacy and

[1] Marsden, op. cit. p. 235.

ceremonies objectionable to himself and his sympathizers.

Irrespective entirely of his ordination, he would certainly have been brought to book, the only marvel was that he was allowed freedom to pursue his outrageous conduct so long.

He was well known to be the author of "the Book of Discipline," though he never publicly avowed it, in which he advanced thorough-going reaction on the lines of the Genevan system. He had deliberately drawn attention to himself, and to silence him effectively his ordination at Antwerp, now several years before, was raked up against him with other charges. The main objections to him were threefold: (*a*) he was not a lawfully ordained minister of the Church of England, (*b*) he had preached without a licence, (*c*) he had violated discipline and decency by his conduct. "Had the first charge been felt by his opponents to have been impregnable, the other charges would probably have been omitted and Travers would have been dismissed, no doubt, in a summary way."[1] But the chief stress was laid on the two last charges. In his "Supplication to the Council," Travers protested that he supposed (for he assumed and rightly that there was no question of invalidating Presbyterian orders) "they mean only, my calling is not sufficient to deal in the ministry within this land, because I was not made minister according to that order which in this case is ordained by our laws".[2] In refutation of this he appealed to the Act 13 Elizabeth quoted above, and maintained that "in this Church of England many Scottish men and others made

[1] Marsden, op. cit. p. 235.

[2] Travers' "Supplication to the Council," in Hooker's "Works," ed. 1820, Vol. III, p. 379.

ministers abroad have been acknowledged, and exercised their ministry accordingly". Travers knew what he was talking about. He would never have been so foolish as to advance a point he could not fully substantiate. The Archbishop (Whitgift) replied, "I know none such and yet their case is differing from his".[1] This answer demands careful notice, for it is quite clear that if the former observation were true there was not only no occasion to add anything more, but the argument was only weakened by doing so. It indeed suggests Whitgift was not at all sure there *were* "none such". The coarse manners of the time would have moved him to give Travers the lie direct had he known for *certain* what he said was false. The second part of the argument was really to the point. As we have seen, Travers' case was very different from others. His ordination was not only not in accordance with English custom (a matter not then vital in itself), but he had acted the part of a rebel in the Church and a disturber of public peace.

Even so his punishment was slight enough. He became provost of Trinity College, Dublin. He remained there for a short time but eventually returned to England and died in obscurity at a great age.

If proper safeguards had been observed in allowing non-episcopalians to minister in the Church probably no harm would have resulted. But the treachery (for that is not too strong a word) of men like Travers led the bishops to see in some of these non-episcopalians the centre of disaffection. To allow the principle was one thing; to sanction the practice quite another. Experience had taught them the danger of doing the latter.

[1] Strype, "Whitgift," App. Vol. III, 108.

Parker very soon found it necessary to ascertain who, and where, these men were, not with a view to eject them, but to keep them under observation. In 1561, he issued a circular to his archdeacons requiring them to make a return as to "how many of them be neither priests nor deacons". In 1576, Grindal inquired "whether any person or persons, not being ordered at least for a deacon, or licensed by the ordinary, do say common prayer openly in your church or chapel; or any not being at the least a deacon, do solemnize matrimony or administer the Sacrament of baptism or deliver unto the communicants the Lord's cup, at the celebration of the Holy Communion; or what he, or they, be that do so".[1]

The Act 13 Elizabeth was an embarrassment to the bishops in enforcing the discipline of the Church, for here was a law of the country which, at the least, left a loophole for non-episcopalians. But by visitation articles and canons the attempt was made to draw the cords tighter. This was on grounds of discipline only. Not till towards the end of Elizabeth's reign do we find the validity of Presbyterian ministrations questioned, but throughout the greater part of this reign in the general opinion of the clergy "ordination by mere presbyters" was "probably considered rather as irregular than invalid".[2] Indeed, with the exception of a few extremists this opinion prevailed for long after that. It was not till 1662 that the door was officially and finally closed against non-episcopalians, and this was then done, as we have seen, by the addition to

[1] "Remains," p. 161. Though this inquiry primarily referred to licensed lay readers.

[2] Soames, "Elizabethan Religious History," ed. 1839, p. 34.

the Preface to the Ordinal and the Act of Uniformity.[1]

[1] A few remarks must be made upon a pamphlet by Rev. E. Denny ("The English Church and the Ministry of the Reformed Churches," S.P.C.K.), in which he endeavours to prove that the Church of England did *not* officially recognize the orders of the Continental Protestant Churches in the way we have shown it did.

The fundamental error underlying Mr. Denny's reasoning is the wholly imaginary distinction he draws between Church and State transactions in Tudor times. For instance, he remarks (p. 40) that "an Act of Parliament is not an Act of the Synods of the Church and does not affect the law of the Church or commit the Church in any way". This statement is in itself sufficiently surprising. Did the Acts of Uniformity not "affect the law of the Church or commit the Church in any way"?

The contradiction in Mr. Denny's position is clear when we remember that the Ordinal, which, he admits (p. 19), expressed "the law of the English Church during this period," was itself an Act of Parliament!

Secondly; it is worth remarking that the visitation articles which he quotes prove the very reverse of the position he tries to make good. Bishops do not systematically inquire where certain men are unless they have good reason to believe such persons exist. The object of these visitation articles was to ascertain where the Presbyterian clergy were, so that a close watch might be kept on them lest they should stir up trouble, as some of them actually had done.

Thirdly; attention must be called to the fact that Mr. Denny ignores entirely the conclusive testimony we have quoted of Joseph Hall, Fleetwood, Clarendon and Keble, that Presbyterians did minister in our Church. But the most amazing thing of all is that he calls in the aid of one "thought to be Bishop Burnet" in order to discredit the testimony of Cosin on a "statement in connexion with this matter" (p. 58). Surely Mr. Denny must know Burnet's opinion on the question of these Presbyterians in our Church! We have quoted it in the foregoing chapter and it will be seen that his words clearly prove him to be a powerful witness *against* Mr. Denny's contention.

CHAPTER VII.

THE BEGINNING OF DISSENT.

The influence of the Continental reformers was destined not to be entirely wholesome upon the English Church. Many of the refugees who returned home on the accession of Elizabeth were able to see things in their true relations to each other, to distinguish principles from incidentals. But there were many who could not do so. With them, details got out of perspective and bulked so largely in the foreground that their general religious outlook became ridiculously out of proportion. The condition of mind which can see in the wearing of the surplice, the use of the sign of the cross in Baptism, and the ring in marriage, grave and serious matters of principle, is hard to understand, and harder still to have patience with. It was just in these two directions that the rulers of the Church failed with the extreme Puritans : there was no serious attempt made to understand them and the patience of the authorities was quickly exhausted. So Nonconformity became Dissent. It is the common opinion of many that the insistence of the Queen was the cause of the severity shown to the Puritans. While agreeing with this view thus far : that many of the bishops certainly had some sympathy with the Puritans ; yet it seems clear from an impartial consideration of the facts that, with few exceptions, that sympathy could stand but little strain.

It is quite impossible, e.g., to excuse much of Whit-

gift's conduct towards them when they were cited before him for disobedience. The two following illustrations are enough to justify this opinion.

"Upon Mr. Fenner's appearance before the Archbishop and other Commissioners . . . he received much unkind usage. Though he was a man of distinguished learning and piety, the proud Archbishop called him, 'a boy,' 'a knave,' 'a slanderer,' 'a libeller,' and other foul names equally contrary to truth and reproachful to his archiepiscopal character."

At the examination of Thomas Settle, the accused quoted Calvin and Beza with some effect. "This put the Archbishop into so violent a passion, that he called him 'ass,' 'dolt,' 'fool,' and added, 'they are liars'". (i.e. Calvin, etc.) "Mr. Settle said, 'you ought not to rail at me, being a minister of the Gospel'. 'What,' replied his lordship, 'dost thou think it much to be called an ass and dolt? I have called many of thy betters so.'" [1] We cannot fairly lay the responsibility for conduct of this kind at the Queen's door.

But first of all it is necessary to enquire whether it was inevitable that Nonconformity should degenerate into Dissent. Was there any constituent in Puritanism which was bound to lead to a separation from the Church, or was the Dissent which ensued the result of mere bad management and narrow policy? The true answer seems to be that Dissent was due partly to the one cause and partly to the other.

The differences between *the main body* of Puritans and the Church were not at all of a vital character and a certain measure of moderation was all that was necessary so far as they were concerned. "Speaking

[1] Brook, "Lives of the Puritans," ed. 1813, Vol. I, p. 394, and Vol. II, p. 46.

generally, they were sober and serious Churchmen, who wanted only a little more liberty inside the Church. Anabaptists and Brownists were the only revolutionaries, and the more violent of these were mostly exiles on Dutch and New England soil." [1]

This applies to the large majority of the Puritans both at this time and for a hundred years later. In Elizabeth's reign, and also at the Hampton Court and Savoy Conferences reasonable concessions would have satisfied the demands of the rank and file and many of the leaders of Puritanism. So far as these were concerned, the Church was at fault for the secessions which resulted. Had they been allowed to remain and their narrow peculiarities tactfully dealt with, common sense would have triumphed and they would gradually have come into line. History proves this to be the case, for of the Nonconformists to-day it is probably true that not one in a hundred would make the objections against the Church which embittered these early Puritans against it.

Persecute men for ever so small a matter and immediately it swells to gigantic proportions. This was the effect of severe dealing upon the Puritans. But it is only fair to add that the times were much to blame in this respect. Toleration was undreamt of and the Church was not ahead of the prevailing spirit.

But there was another section of Puritans to whom this does not apply. "There were many of them in whom the sufferings they had undergone, and the religious differences they had witnessed" (on the Continent) "had still failed to subdue the vehemence of temper, or to moderate the severity of their opinions." [2]

[1] Gwatkin, "Cambridge Modern History," Vol. V, p. 326.
[2] Cardwell, "History of Conferences," p. 15.

These were the irreconcilable minority whom no concessions would have satisfied. They were predestined to Dissent. They were good men and God-fearing beyond all question, but narrow and rancorous and bitterly intolerant. Their separation was inevitable. The great error the Church made with them was in adopting a policy which enabled them to lead on the moderate majority to extremes. It certainly would not have been impossible to drive a wedge between the moderates and the irreconcilables, and such a policy would have issued ultimately in discrediting the extremists in the public eye. But both now and hereafter, generally speaking, the attitude adopted was that of condemning all, root and branch, and so the extremists had the satisfaction of leading a mass of pious Christian feeling which might easily, by temperate dealing, have been won over to the Church; and the inevitable Dissent, instead of being the luxury of a few impossible spirits, became the expression of a huge body of the best and most spiritual people in the country.

The circumstances which produced this disaster will require brief but careful treatment.

Many of the early Elizabethan bishops were sincere Puritans.[1] They had come to England from their exile abroad with an honest preference for much of the system of Calvin, but they saw that the main principles for which Protestantism stood were not likely, under the Queen's rule, to be imperilled. Loyally, and with true self-sacrifice in some cases, they sank their wishes and threw themselves into the life of the Church. But the well-balanced mind does not belong to every one, and

[1] "In 1562 a scheme for reforming the Church in accordance with Presbyterian principles was lost in Convocation by one vote." (Macphail, "Presbyterian Church," p. 236.)

what Grindal, Sandys, Jewel, Parkhurst, and others could do, many others could not. The surplice, kneeling at the Communion and such ceremonies, were anathema to many Puritans. Nothing ought to be done in the Church unless chapter and verse could be shown for its justification in Scripture. Such an attitude of mind created difficult persons and a delicate situation. In their difficulties they wrote to their oracles at Zurich and Geneva for advice. But the advice was not at all to their liking. A joint letter from Bullinger and Gualter to Bishops Grindal and Horn makes sufficiently clear what opinion these divines had of the questions at issue. "The sum of our judgment was this, that Churches redeemed by the Blood of Christ ought on no account to be deserted for the sake of caps and gowns which are to be regarded as mere matters of indifference, since they are enjoined to be used, not with a view to any religious observance, but merely as a matter of civil concern, for the maintenance of proper decency." [1]

This was written 6 September, 1566. It refers to adverse judgment against the Nonconformists given previously. This moved the objectors to send about this time a deputation to Geneva and Zurich to plead

[1] "Zurich Letters," Vol. I, p. 358. *Vide* also Cox to Gualter, 12 February, 1571: "You candidly and truly confess, Master Gualter, that there are some among those brethren who are a little morose; and you might add too obstreperous, contentious, rending asunder the unity of a well-constituted Church, and everywhere handing up and down among the people a form of Divine worship concocted out of their own heads." And Horn to Gualter, 10 August, 1576: "Those contentious, or, if you choose, vainglorious and certainly mischievous men who by their ungovernable zeal for discord were retarding the free progress of the Gospel among us, and drawing away the people . . . into what they call *purity*, are now silenced and skulk about, and are become of no importance."

their cause in person, and they poured into kindly ears "grievous accusations of the bishops' dealings with the ministers"—accusations more pathetic than true. Grindal and Horn wrote to Bullinger and Gualter in 1567 a lengthy letter of explanation in which they did not shrink from making the grave charge of falsehood against the Puritans. "That report . . . is altogether a falsehood. Nor are those parties more to be depended upon, who either in their written letters or verbally in your presence have under this pretext endeavoured to blind your eyes, and to brand us with a calumnious accusation."[1]

Some of the bishops claimed that the difference between Anglican and Continental Protestant teaching was merely in the details, and that there was so close an approximation between them as to amount to identity. While lamenting the surplice as a point of difference, Jewel, e.g., goes on to say in a letter to Peter Martyr (7 Feb. 1562), "as to matters of doctrine we have pared everything away to the very quick and do not differ from your doctrine by a nail's breadth". And Horn, writing to Bullinger (13 Dec. 1563), gives the same witness: "we have throughout England the same ecclesiastical doctrine as yourselves". With such substantial agreement as this it was not at all likely that the Continental divines would make a great stir about non-essential details.

Disheartened by their failure to get support from the leaders abroad, embittered by the attempt of the Archbishop (Parker) to tighten discipline in 1566, a new phase of things occurred, which in turn provoked the Archbishop's successors, Grindal and Whitgift, to screw up

[1] "Zurich Letters," Vol. I, p. 178.

their discipline tighter still. A small number seceded from the Church to form the first dissenting communities. True this was a deliberate violation of the law, but for all this it is impossible to excuse the ferocity with which these Dissenters were punished. But to deal with this would be a digression.

The same two causes produced a more serious result upon the Puritans still within the Church. About 1570, Puritanism took a much more aggravated and aggressive form. In Walter Travers and Thomas Cartwright it found two leaders of conspicuous ability. The attack now was made not merely on details of ceremonial but on the very constitution and polity of the Church. Their aims and ideals were clearly set out in "The First and Second Admonitions to Parliament" (1572), mainly the work of Cartwright, and Travers' "Declaration of Discipline" (1574).

This miserable controversy, deplorable in every other way, had one solitary good result—it compelled the orthodox divines to formulate their position and make it good.[1] The orthodox found their champions in Archbishop Whitgift and a greater man, even, than him—Richard Hooker. As the attack was definitely made upon episcopacy it is of first importance to examine the defence set up by the acknowledged authorities in the Church.

Attention has already been called to the unique cir-

[1] Just as the controversy with Rome in which Jewel was the protagonist had a similar good result. His opinion on the question under consideration requires notice. In his dispute with Harding he writes: "Neither doth the Church of England depend on them" (i.e. bishops). . . . "If there were not one, neither of them nor of us, left alive, yet would not, therefore, the whole Church of England flee to Louvaine." ("Defence of Apology," Part II, chap. v. div. 1.)

cumstances under which Hooker was brought into contact with extreme Puritanism. The unedifying goings-on at the Temple had familiarized him with the whole controversy, and in his "Ecclesiastical Polity" he dealt with his subject in a superlatively able fashion. The unreasonableness of the extreme Puritans appears clearly in the "Admonition". They would scarcely admit that a single step had been taken in the direction of real reform. "May it, therefore, please your wisdoms to understand that we in England are so far off from having a Church rightly reformed according to the prescript of God's Word, that as yet we are scarce come to the outward face of the same."[1]

They objected to ceremonies and episcopacy. These things resembled popery, and inasmuch as the Reformation was a second exodus from Egypt, God's command to His people to avoid every resemblance to the Egyptians must be interpreted as a command to avoid every popish custom. "Whereas the Lord was careful to sever them by ceremonies from other nations, yet was He not so careful to sever them from any, as from the Egyptians amongst whom they lived, and from those nations which were next neighbours to them, because from them was the greatest fear of infection. ... To rectify a crooked stick we bend it on the contrary side, as far as it was at the first on that side from whence we draw it; and so it cometh in the end to a middle between both, which is perfect straightness. Utter inconformity therefore with the Church of Rome is the best and surest policy which the Church can use."[2]

[1] Ed. 1617, p. 1.

[2] T. Cartwright, quoted by Hooker, E.P. IV, § 3. Strype dismisses Cartwright's position as based upon "two false principles and rotten pillars". They were: "We must of necessity have

The feebleness of this argument is apparent, and Hooker's reply is clear and absolutely convincing. Ceremonies must be judged on their merits. Details must not be rejected because they are not confirmed in Holy Writ, but, if useful in themselves and not contrary to Scripture, they must be retained.

The question of the ministry was a far more serious matter. Unhappily the Church was seriously hampered by Erastian conceptions, from which its opponents were almost free.[1]

The ministry, the Puritans said, was not a priesthood nor should it be episcopal. To the former Hooker objected that words must be used with careful attention to their meaning. He has no great liking for the word priest. "Seeing then that sacrifice is now no part of the Church ministry, how should the name of priesthood be thereunto rightly applied? . . . In truth the word presbyter doth seem more fit, and in propriety of speech more agreeable than priest with the drift of the whole Gospel of Jesus Christ. . . . Seeing therefore we receive the adoption and state of sons by this ministry whom God hath chosen out for that purpose . . . what better title could there be given them than the reverend name of presbyters or fatherly guides? The Holy Ghost throughout the body of the New Testament, making so much mention of them, doth not anywhere call them priests."[2]

the same kind of government that was in the Apostles' time and is expressed in the Scriptures and no other". The other was "that we may not in any wise, or on any consideration, retain in the Church anything that hath been abused under the Pope." ("Whitgift," I, 50.)

[1] The argument in Book VIII of the "Ecclesiastical Polity" is essentially Erastian.

[2] E.P. V, § 78.

"Priest," rightly understood, does not necessarily involve sacrificial power and certainly Hooker's conception of the ministry emphatically precluded such an idea.

The same view is also taken by Bishop Cooper. He defends the word "priest" as permissible, but forcibly rejects any sacerdotal significance. It is merely a synonym for presbyter. This he writes not only in his own name but also in the name of Archbishop Whitgift.[1]

Hooker's answer to the objections against episcopacy is not quite so clear, but we shall understand his position better when we remember what he was contesting. The ultra-Puritans were aggressive and destructive, and a party, like the Church, on its defence cannot afford to make many concessions. This goes far to explain his strenuous defence of episcopacy as the ideal form, for Hooker's adversaries were not pleading for toleration but for the destruction of ceremonies, prelates, and everything they did not care for, and the establishment of the Genevan system in their place. As an illustration of the fear of making any admissions, we might instance the hopeless attempt Hooker makes to defend the Church system of patronage and the absence of the lay voice in electing the clergy, contrary to the custom of the primitive Church.[2] This, and the magnificent state observed by the bishops, was clearly the strongest point his adversaries could urge, and it would need a very indulgent reader to conclude that Hooker had the best of the argument on these points.

In urging the lawfulness of episcopacy Hooker goes very far: "Albeit the Scripture did no way insinuate

[1] Cooper's "Admonition to the People of England," ed. 1589, p. 45. Whitgift expressed himself as "not greatly delighted with the name" priest.

[2] E.P. VII, § 14.

the same to be God's ordinance, and the Apostles to have brought it in, albeit the Church were acknowledged by all men to have been the first beginner thereof a long time after the Apostles were gone, yet is not the authority of bishops hereby disannulled, it is not hereby proved unfit or unprofitable for the Church ".[1] . . . "All things, we grant, which are in the Church ought to be of God. But, forasmuch as they may be two ways accounted such; one, if they be of His own institution and not of ours; another, if they be of ours, yet with His approbation; this latter way there is no impediment, but that the same thing which is of men, may be also justly and truly said to be of God, the same thing from heaven which is from earth."[2]

He was of the opinion that without them in early times "the Church could not have continued long".[3] Yet he is ready to allow exceptions in special cases. When "it was demanded of Beza at Poissie, by what authority he could administer the Holy Sacraments, being not thereunto ordained by any other than Calvin . . . to this we answer, that there may be very just and sufficient reason to allow ordination made without a bishop. . . . As the ordinary course is ordinarily in all things to be observed, so it may be in some cases not unnecessary that we decline from the ordinary ways." "We are not simply without exception, to urge a lineal descent of power from the Apostles by continued succession of bishops in every effectual ordination. These cases of inevitable necessity excepted, none may ordain but only bishops."[4] Further than this it would be impossible under the circumstances for Hooker to go. His adversaries were

[1] E.P. VII, § 11.
[2] *Ibid.* § 11.
[3] *Ibid.* § 13.
[4] *Ibid.* § 14.

obviously not an exception to the general rule. They were rebels against a system of acknowledged antiquity, they were not merely claiming a right, but rather attacking the right of others.

Again, he adds: "Let them" (the bishops) "continually bear in mind that it is rather the force of custom, whereby the Church, having so long found it good to continue under the regiment of her virtuous bishops, doth still uphold, maintain, and honour them in that respect, than that any such true and heavenly law can be shewed, by the evidence whereof it may of a truth appear, that the Lord Himself hath appointed presbyters for ever to be under the regiment of bishops." [1]

"This we boldly set down as a most infallible truth, that the Church of Christ is at this day lawfully, and so hath been sithence the first beginning, governed by bishops, having permanent superiority, and ruling power over other ministers of the Word and Sacraments." [2]

Yet he does not lose sight of the other equally important truth. He exhorts the bishops "to use their authority with so much the greater humility and moderation as a sword which the Church hath power to take from them". [3] Here he makes the crucial admission that it is finally the Church which rules the bishops and not the bishops the Church.

The other great man who entered the lists to combat this more aggressive phase of Puritanism, was the Archbishop, Whitgift. His views are noteworthy, not only because of the influence which would naturally attach to the expressions of one in such a position, but also because, in spite of his severity to his opponents, he was

[1] E.P. VII, § 5. [2] *Ibid.* § 3.
[3] *Ibid.* § 5.

a man of unblemished integrity. He wrote an "Answer" to the "Admonition to Parliament" and later on a "Defence of the Answer".[1] His opinion is practically the same as Hooker's but special reference to his actual words must be made. His ideas were truly catholic and liberal. "It is manifest that Christ hath left the government of His Church, touching the external policy, to the ordering of men who have to make orders and laws for the same, as time, place, and persons require; so that nothing be done contrary to His Word." "We are well assured that Christ in His Word hath fully and plainly comprehended all things necessary to faith and good life, yet hath He committed certain orders of ceremonies and kind of government to the disposition of His Church; the general rules in His Word being generally observed; and nothing being done contrary to His Will and Commandment."[2] More plainly still does he give his reasons for denying that any kind of Church government is *essential* or that questions of expediency may not permit alteration. "The first is, because I find no one certain and perfect kind of government prescribed and commanded in the Scriptures to the Church of Christ, which, no doubt, should have been done, if it had been a matter necessary unto the salvation of the Church. Secondly, because the essential notes of the Church be these only; the true preaching of the Word

[1] According to the manner of the time abuse was freely used to strengthen argument. In Cartwright's reply to Whitgift's "Answer to the Admonition," Whitgift detects "one and twenty dangerous points of doctrine vented, and fifty and one untruths and falsified authorities". (Strype's "Whitgift," I, 51.) Cartwright, equally amiable, sees in the bishops the "remnant of antichrist's brood". (*Ibid.* I, 28.)

[2] "Defence of Answer," pp. 301 and 470, ed. 1574.

of God, and the right administration of the Sacraments." [1] Most emphatic is this categorical statement, "I deny that the Scriptures . . . set down any one certain form and kind of government of the Church, to be perpetual for all times, persons, and places without alteration".[2]

This controversy was to have graver results still.

Each party produced an extreme left wing. About 1580 these extremists began to develop. In 1588 the "Martin Marprelate" tracts began to appear. These satires were full of scurrilous wit and of that cleverness which is always a considerable party asset. Episcopacy was denounced, the bishops abused and slandered. Despite all attempts to suppress them they had a considerable circulation and exercised a most mischievous influence against the bishops. "They were read at Court, they were read at the Universities, they were secretly sold at markets and fairs; the appearance of a fresh 'Martin' was an event of the greatest public interest." [3]

The extreme wing on the Church side was led by Bancroft, Bishop of London. The denunciation of episcopacy moved him to preach a historic sermon at Paul's Cross, on 9 February, 1589, in which he appears to have advanced entirely novel claims for the ecclesiastical system he favoured. This sermon is commonly spoken of to-day as the first appearance of the theory of the Divine Right of episcopacy in our Church since the Reformation. Bancroft certainly did go to great lengths in his sermon, but a careful reading of it does not disclose any *definite* statement of the Laudian view of the episcopate. He stoutly maintained the superiority of the episcopate to the presbyterate; but this was a very

[1] "Defence of Answer," p. 81. [2] *Ibid.* p. 84.

[3] Pierce, "The Marprelate Tracts," p. 150. This is an excellent account of the controversy though very partizan in tone.

common opinion among many divines who were free from every tinge of the High Anglican belief. "There is no man living," he said, "as I suppose, able to shew, where there was anie Church planted ever since the Apostles' times but there the bishop had authoritie over the rest of the ministerie."[1]

Questionable though such an expression is on historical grounds, it does not go very far beyond the Preface to the Ordinal, yet it is about as strong an expression as any to be found in the sermon. A champion of Bancroft says of this famous sermon: "Nowhere do we find the words 'Divine Right' applied either to kings or bishops, and the fundamental part of that theory is lacking. . . . No trace of the Laudian theory of the Divine Right of bishops appears in any writing with which Bancroft had any connexion."[2]

In support of this is the fact that Thomas Rogers, Bancroft's chaplain, in 1607 published an "Exposition of the Articles," which was "perused and by the lawful authority of the Church of England allowed to be public," and which Bancroft himself ordered all the parishes in the Province of Canterbury to provide themselves with. In this work were contentions quite contrary to the narrow view of the ministry: indeed the sub-title describes it as written to show the conformity of the English Church with "the written Word of God and to the extant confessions of all the neighbour Churches Christianly reformed".

But on the other hand there is the unquestionable fact of the alarm occasioned by the Sermon at Paul's Cross in many minds. Men like Reignolds saw in it the first

[1] "Bancroft's Sermon," British Museum 693 d. 22, p. 69.

[2] Usher, "Reconstruction of the English Church," Vol. II, p. 128.

steps to episcopacy *jure divino*. He wrote to Knollys concerning the preacher: "He seemeth to avouch the superioritie which bishops have among us over the clergie, to be God's own ordinance; though not by express words, yet by necessarie consequence, in that he affirmeth their opinion, who oppugn that superioritie, to be heresy."[1]

Far-sighted men like Knollys, too, were perturbed by the Bishop's remarks. He called the Queen's attention to them as he regarded these novel contentions as both serious and far-reaching. Whitgift is reported to have said he rather wished, than believed, them to be true.

The facts of the case seem to be that though this historic sermon did not actually state the Divine Right of episcopacy, yet, by implication, at least the foundations of that theory were laid down in it; and we are, therefore, not very far wrong in following the common idea of regarding Bancroft as the founder of the exclusive view of Church government. Officially this theory fell into the background for a while, but it needed little shrewdness to see that the final battle was to be fought out between these two extremes and that it would be difficult for the central party to keep clear of the contest. Further and further the two factions swung apart by mutual repulsion, and the near future was to see a war of extermination between them resulting in a most deplorable situation in the religious life of the country. Bishop Hooper has been called the father of Nonconformists. It is even more true to say that Bancroft,

[1] "Doctor Reignolds, his letter to Sir F. Knollys concerning Dr. Bancroft's Sermon," ed. 1641, p. 3, British Museum, E. 156. The passages in the sermon to which Reignolds seems to refer are pp. 17 ff. and 96-7.

Laud, and the upholders of this belligerent theory were the creators of the political Dissenter. But we must not anticipate.

Even up to this point, and considerably beyond it, Dissent was infrequent. The vast bulk of Puritans never entertained the idea of seceding from the Church; their policy was to capture it and mould it according to their own theories. A National Church was essential to national well-being, and the battle during the Stuart dynasty was on this ground, whether episcopacy or non-episcopacy should be sole possessors of the Church of the country. *Sole* possessors be it noted, for neither party at that time was for a moment disposed to brook any rival system whatever.

This inquiry into the rise and ultimate development of Puritanism is directly in line with our main purpose. First, because it eventually degenerated into Dissent, and the relations between Church and Dissent are of fundamental interest; and, secondly, because the controversy raging round Church government moved the representative men of the time to disclose their views as to the origin and authority of episcopacy. The former consideration will call for treatment later on; it is important that we should turn our attention again to the views of the protagonists on the Church side on the subject of Church government.

The position taken up and made good by Hooker and Whitgift has already received attention, but the subject needs further consideration.

Never do they maintain the exclusive claim of their own system. They claimed that episcopacy was the oldest, the best, and the most in accordance with Holy Writ of all schemes of Church government. This was sound, indeed irrefragable. But the new development

for which Bancroft stood could claim the support neither of Scripture nor experience. Moreover, the line he took was quite uncalled for, and it raised fresh ground for dispute and discussion. "Who were and who were not accredited ministers of Jesus Christ was a point upon which a perfect agreement as yet existed between them" (i.e. Puritans and Orthodox).[1] To deny the validity of non-episcopal orders, which was practically the effect of his argument, was to deny the obvious, and there can be little doubt that this unnecessary attack upon other systems went far to discredit the Church in popular minds, and to prejudice its cause and alienate sympathy in the dark days that were to come. This view, however, was the natural outcome of a mind like that of Bancroft. He was bitter and overbearing and grossly unjust to opponents.[2] Even James I who detested Puritanism was compelled to silence him at the Hampton Court Conference, when he was positively insulting to the Puritan divines.

His views were somewhat premature. In the reign of Elizabeth he stood alone, but his position was destined to be adopted and developed by some of the leading spirits in the Church with most mischievous results, affecting the religious life of the world down to our own days.

In addition to these opinions, two or three others deserve attention.

Bishop Cooper was made the butt of a specific attack

[1] Marsden, op. cit. p. 230.

[2] A friendly critic writes of him: "A great statesman he was, and grand champion of Church discipline, having well hardened the hands of his soul, which was no more than needed for him who was to meddle with nettles and briars, and met with much opposition." (Fuller, "Worthies," ed. 1840, Vol. II, p. 199.)

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by the scurrilous tract writer,[1] but he takes the moderate and sound line of defending himself and leaving open the door of liberty to others. He requires his adversaries who were claiming Divine right for *their* position to substantiate it, in these words: "This I desire, that they will lay down out of the Word of God some just proofs, and a direct commandment, that there should be in all ages and states of the Church of Christ, one only form of outward government," and then goes on to associate himself with "the grave and learned men" who maintain "that one form of Church government is not necessary in all times and places of the Church". "We may not pull down one Rome and set up another" . . . "one form of Church government is not necessarie in all times and places of the Church." The foreign Protestants he doubts not "have been directed *by the Spirit of God* to retain this liberty, that in external government and other outward forms, they might choose such as they thought in wisdom and godliness to be most convenient for the state of their country and disposition of the people". He goes on to state "the reason that moveth us not to like this platform of government (i.e. the Presbyterian)".[2] It will be noted that Cooper's views are entirely in a line with the idea of the Church set out in a previous chapter. National Churches have freedom to select the system most suitable, and he defends their choice, even when it differs from his own Church's method, as "directed by the Spirit of God".

Dean Bridges, afterwards Bishop of Oxford, in his

[1] One of the brochures was entitled, "Ha'e ye any work for Cooper?" and a later one "More work for the Cooper".

[2] Cooper's "Admonition to the People of England," ed. 1589, pp. 74, 75, 76 ff.

defence of the episcopal system adopts the same position. He is impatient with those who disturb the peace of the Church on this question. "There is no reason why we should break the bond of peace, and make such trouble in the Church of God, to reject the government that in the nature thereof is as much indifferent as the solemnizing this or that day the memorial of the Lord's Resurrection . . . . We ought neither to condemn, or speak, or think evil of other good Churches that use another ecclesiastical government than we do; neither ought they to do the like of ours." [1]

One last opinion will be given, that of Archdeacon Francis Mason, in which it will be seen that the term "by Divine Right" was so vague that its use required careful safeguards. "If you mean by *jure divino*, that which is according to the Scriptures, then the pre-eminence of bishops is *jure divino*. . . . But if by *jure divino* you understand a law and commandment of God binding all Christian Churches universally, perpetually, unchangeably, and with such absolute necessity that no other form of regiment in any case may be admitted in this sense, neither may we grant it, nor yet can you prove it, to be *jure divino!*" [2]

These passages give us a sufficiently clear idea of the views held by leading divines in the Church about this time.

[1] Bridges' "Defence of the Government Established in the Church of England," ed. 1587, pp. 319-20.

[2] Mason, "Defence of the Ministry of the Church of England" quoted by Dimock, "Christian Unity," 1910 ed., pp. 28, 29. Mason's authorship is disputed, but *vide* Dimock, op. cit. pp. 25-7.

CHAPTER VIII.

HAMPTON COURT AND AFTER.

THE long reign of Elizabeth was in a way a period of incubation for various religious views. James I's reign was the time of hatching, and Charles I's reign the time when the various progenies were at their full vigour.

We saw how two extreme parties began to make their influence felt at the close of the Tudor period. It is unfortunate that it is always the extremists who make their voices heard most clearly ; all the more so because it is the factions which generally shape the policy of the Church, the great central mass of moderate opinion all too often being unheard amid the boisterous shouts of parties.

The Stuart period found the Church in a very critical state. Hooker is reported to have prophesied that it "was not like to continue above seventy or eighty years, the age of a man". And Archbishop Abbott was of the same opinion.[1]

In many ways the Church deserved better of the nation at this time than it received. Its tone of spirituality was certainly higher, its clergy had the reputation of being learned and on the whole they merited this high praise.[2]

[1] Macleane, "Lancelot Andrewes," p. 169.

[2] Such a great scholar as Casaubon saw in the English Church, "the soundest part of the whole Reformation". This famous

The views of Bancroft and others like-minded were beginning to dominate the Church's policy, the feeling of exclusiveness respecting non-episcopal Churches was destined to grow and become intensified. English people are not naturally narrow-minded, and this extreme attitude was constantly resented and raised suspicions which were prejudicial to the Church. But a set of circumstances, mainly political and social, had an effect upon the Church of the most serious kind.

We saw in our introduction that the Reformation was a social force which had brought into prominence the middle classes. Democracy was now beginning to stir the nation.[1] During Henry VIII's reign and subsequently it had little power to expand; under Elizabeth it was kept in check by the nation's devotion to the Queen; but under the Stuarts it was destined to begin its long course of triumph.

It was at this very time that the Church was most entangled with the State. Argue as we may, it was never more intensely Erastian.[2] Fatally linked with a

scholar was invited to England by Bancroft, who promised him a prebendal stall at Canterbury. When we remember Bancroft's views upon the ministry this incident is very remarkable. Casaubon remained a member of the French congregation, and though he certainly was never either confirmed or episcopally ordained, Andrewes administered the Sacrament to him when he was dying.

[1] These early democrats were not republicans. Their views were those now held by all sound constitutionalists. *Vide* views of "The Observer" which Bramhall contested in "The Serpent Salve," A.C.L. ed., Vol. III, p. 322. "Power is originally inherent in the people. . . . We see, not that prince which is most potent *over* his subjects, but that prince which is most potent *in* his subjects, is indeed most truly potent."

[2] See, for instance, Overall's "Convocation Book," A.C.L. ed., p. 141. "There was only this want to the full accomplishment of such a Church government as was settled among the Jews, that during

power which was entirely out of sympathy with the people, it was dragged down in the disaster which overtook the Crown.

In the eyes of the people monarchy and prelacy came to be regarded as united to check their power and rob them of their rights, and unfortunately prelacy and episcopacy were too often taken to mean the same thing. They were not so, as will appear later.

Puritanism, moreover, was a growing force and closely allied with the growing democratic feeling. The Puritan had constantly and fiercely attacked the magnificence of the prelates, and this onslaught was of a piece with the democratic attack on the Crown.

The Church saw in the Crown its greatest safeguard. The Crown regarded the Church in a similar light, and they mutually wrecked one another. "This I prophesy," said James I, "that whensoever the ecclesiastical dignity together with the government thereof shall be turned into contempt and begin to evanish in this kingdom, the kings thereof shall not long after prosper in their government and the monarchy shall fall to ruin, which I pray God I may never live to see." [1]

Puritanism, on the other hand, became more and more, though slowly, identified with the cause of civil

the Apostles' times, and for a long season afterwards, it wanted Christian magistrates to supply the rooms of Moses, King David, King Solomon, and of the rest of their worthy successors." Also *ibid.* pp. 178-9.

On Laud's recommendation a prayer was used at Charles I's coronation which ran as follows: "Let him obtain favour for the people, like Aaron in the tabernacle, Elisha in the waters, and Zacharias in the Temple; give him Peter's key of discipline and Paul's doctrine". (See Perry, "English Church History," ed. 1888, Vol. II, p. 404.)

[1] *ap.* Blaxland, "The Struggle with Puritanism," p. 17.

liberty. The national heroes of a few years later were almost without exception Puritans and many of them anti-episcopalian.

The Stuarts never won the hearts of the nation, and the first two of them figured as champions of the Church. Neither James nor his son understood the temper of the people, and the leading bishops of their reigns never took the trouble to understand the position of the Puritans.

The Hampton Court Conference was a deplorable example of a lost opportunity. It was the outcome of the Millenary Petition to the King, which voiced the grievance of such a large body of the clergy that no steps should have been considered too troublesome to meet their wishes had it been possible.

The Puritans who addressed the King in this petition were not Dissenters, though, as we have remarked elsewhere, some among them were irreconcilables whom it would be practically impossible to placate. Nor were they Presbyterians. In their petition they were careful to explicitly deny this. "We, the ministers of the Gospel in this land, neither as factious men, affecting a popular parity in the Church, nor as schismatics, aiming at the dissolution of the state ecclesiastical, but, as the faithful servants of Christ and loyal subjects to your Majesty, desiring and longing for the redress of divers abuses of the Church, could do no less . . . than acquaint your princely majesty with our particular griefs." [1]

The Puritans' demands were moderate; although they appeared to be considerable and were so in bulk. They "disclaimed any revolutionary views; they said

[1] Cardwell, op. cit. p. 131.

nothing about the presbytery, or the essential equality of ministers, or the Holy Discipline, or the old platform of Cartwright and Travers ".[1]

They pleaded for redress in four directions :—

1. In public worship : they requested the abolition of the cross in Baptism and the ring in marriage, radical alterations in Confirmation, Baptism not to be administered by women, the surplice and cap not to be insisted upon, abolition of lessons from the Apocrypha, etc.

2. In the ministry : " Only able and sufficient men " should be admitted to orders, preaching to be frequent, and non-preachers to be removed, non-residence to be forbidden.

3. Church property : The scandals of pluralities, commendams, and impropriations to be done away with.

4. Church discipline : Excommunication by lay officials to be forbidden, some " popish canons " to be reversed, marriage licences to be given more cautiously, etc.

In the light of to-day it seems that these concessions might have been granted to secure peace, or at any rate many of them, for it is unlikely that the main body of Puritans would have stood out for all their demands. Some, a small minority, would have done so, and it was this section which prejudiced the cause of the others by irritating the King with other and less carefully worded petitions. Whatever his original feeling might have been, when the Conference met he had no idea of taking it seriously, but welcomed it as an opportunity of showing in public his own cleverness and of trampling on the Puritan susceptibilities.

The Conference met on 14 January, 1604, and on

[1] Frere, " History of the English Church," p. 292. Again : " It was no small triumph " (for Whitgift) " to have reduced disaffection to such comparatively small proportions." (*Ibid.* p. 306.)

the second day the four Puritan advocates were admitted. There is no occasion to give a detailed account of the proceedings. Bancroft attempted to bully and ridicule them, claiming that schismatics should not be heard against their bishops, but James promptly silenced him. "My lord bishop, something in your passion I may excuse, and something I must mislike. . . . I mislike your sudden interruption of Dr. Reignolds whom you should have suffered to have taken his liberty." Reignolds suggested that in dioceses of say six hundred parishes Confirmation might be performed by others beside the bishop. At this Bancroft again grew angry, he "thought himself touched because . . . about six hundred and nine in his diocese". He went on to assert confidently, "unless I could prove my ordination lawful out of the Scriptures, I would not be a bishop four hours longer".[1]

The discussion went on traversing all the ground, more or less fairly, of the Puritans' objections till Reignolds suggested that points of difference might be remedied, by reference to the bishop sitting in synod with his presbytery. This last was an unfortunate word to use. James was alert at once; it recalled unpleasant experiences to his mind. "If you aim at a Scotch presbytery it agreeth as well with monarchy as God and the devil. Then Jack and Tom and Dick will meet and censure me and my council."

But it was not at a "Scotch presbytery" Reignolds was "aiming". He was anticipating a solution of the trouble which was propounded later on by more than one of the ablest and most far-seeing of the bishops. But the fatal word rankled in the King's mind.

A few points were conceded to the petitioners but none

[1] Fuller, Vol. III, p. 177 ff.

which really touched their conscientious scruples. The King's last words as he left the room were ill-omened : "I will make them conform or I will harry them out of the land, or else do worse."

It was a declaration of a war in which the King was worsted. It was not the Puritans who were harried out of the land but the royal house who opposed them.[1] "In two minutes he had sealed his own fate and the fate of England for ever."[2]

It must not be thought for a moment that James was sincere in his attachment to the Church. Grave though the faults of his son were, yet he truly loved his Church,[3]

[1] "The rejection of the claims of the Puritans was followed by an outrageous infraction of the law—the imprisonment of ten of those who had presented the petition, the Star Chamber having declared that it tended to sedition and rebellion." (Bright, "History of England," ed. 1882, Vol. II, p. 587.)

"Whitgift defiled his aged lips by saying that his Majesty spoke undoubtedly by the special aid of God's Spirit. Bancroft protested on his knee, that his heart melted with joy. This was merely ridiculous and base. But he profanely crowned his degradation by acknowledging to God, as a singular mercy, the gift of such a King as, he thought, had never been seen since our Saviour's time." (Soames, "Elizabethen History," ed. 1829, pp. 550 and 551.)

[2] Gardiner, "History of England," ed. 1863, Vol. I, p. 172.

[3] Although it must be stated there is good reason to question *his* sincerity. "In 1641 he deliberately confirmed the Scotch Declaration which stated that the government of the Church by archbishops and bishops was contrary to the Word of God. In 1645, he appears to have offered to set up popery in Ireland. That a king who had established the Presbyterian religion in one kingdom, and who was willing to establish the Catholic religion in another, should have insurmountable scruples about the ecclesiastical constitution of the third, is altogether incredible." (Macaulay, Essay on "Hallam.") Even so far as England was concerned he was disposed to "think some kind of compliance with the iniquity of the times may be fit . . . which at another time were unlawful". (*Vide* Hutton, "History of English Church," p. 135.)

but James was probably without convictions. The only alternative to this is to accuse him of "detestable hypocrisy," for only a few years previously, in 1590, in the General Assembly of the Scotch Church at Edinburgh, "he thanked the Almighty he was born in the time of the light of the Gospel, and such a place as to be King of such a Church, the sincerest Kirk in the World! . . . As for our neighbour Kirk of England, their service is an evil-said mass in English. . . . I charge you my good ministers, elders, nobles, gentlemen, and barons to stand to your purity and to exhort the people to do the same; and I, forsooth, as long as I brook my life, shall maintain the same." [1]

Though their other demands were refused, a new translation of the Bible was conceded, so that it is to the Puritans we owe the Authorized Version of the Scriptures of 1611. Bancroft, who was to succeed Whitgift as primate, opposed this, but James overruled the episcopal party.[2]

Bancroft and his party were elated at the result of the conference. Advised by him, a set of canons was drawn up to seal the fruits of victory. These canons "destroyed the last hopes of Puritans . . . and could have no other object than to drive the Puritans out of the Church".[3]

[1] Sanford, "Great Rebellion," ed. 1858, pp. 72, 73.

[2] "In the accounts that we read of this meeting we are alternately struck with wonder at the indecent and partial behaviour of the King, and at the abject baseness of the bishops, mixed, according to the custom of servile natures, with insolence towards their opponents. It was easy for a monarch and eighteen Churchmen to claim the victory, be the merits of the dispute what they might, over four abashed and intimidated adversaries." (Hallam, "History of England," Vol. I, p. 297.)

[3] Henson, "Cross-Bench Views," p. 338.

Nonconformity was again to be crushed underground if possible, but it was too late to do so, and the only result was to make the bitterness against prelacy more deep-seated. Rebellions against their treatment occurred in many places and the eye of a statesman could have seen that a catastrophe was near.

Let us look at the opinion of such a man.

Lord Francis Bacon's views are most important, not only because of his great learning, but also because he looked at the question from the point of view of the Christian statesman; so that what he recommended was not merely wise but also practical. In his "Advertisement touching the controversies of the Church of England" written at the end of Elizabeth's reign, his treatment of the whole situation is broad-minded and tolerant. While clearly on the side of the bishops, he blames them severely for not dealing with manifest abuses and contenting themselves with saying there was no mischief to rectify. "Again to my lords, the bishops, I say, that it is hard for them to avoid blame, in the opinion of an indifferent person, in standing so precisely upon altering nothing. . . . Is nothing amiss?" He then points out two directions in which flagrant evils exist; the abuse of excommunication and the prevailing incompetence of preachers. "Other things might be spoken of. I pray God to inspire the bishops with a fervent love and care of the people."[1]

In a pamphlet written in James's reign he is more definite. His own views on Church government are clearly stated. "I for my part do confess, that in revolving the Scriptures I could never find any such thing; but that God had left the like liberty to the Church government as He had done to the civil

[1] Francis Bacon, Works, ed. 1826, Vol. II, pp. 498-9.

government; to be varied according to time, place, and accidents, which nevertheless His High and Divine Providence doth order and dispose."[1] Though he considered "government by bishops" "warranted by the Word of God, and by the practice of the ancient Church in the better times, and much more convenient for kingdoms than of ministers and government by synods" yet he quite associated himself with two of the greatest grievances of the Puritans: (*a*) the sole exercise of authority by the bishops without advice from the clergy, (*b*) the "deputation of their authority". Bacon clearly had strong leaning in the direction of what came to be known as "moderate episcopacy". He exhibits the same statesmanlike sympathy with, and aims to understand, the Puritans in the succeeding section of this pamphlet.

Much of the disaster which followed would certainly have been averted if reformation on some such lines had been taken in hand.

It is time to note more carefully what the Puritanism of the time really stood for. It was a spiritual and religious attitude of the mind affecting conduct, and was really colourless so far as Church government was concerned.[2] The Puritan might be, and was as a matter

[1] Bacon, "Pacification of the Church," Works, ed. 1826, Vol. II, p. 512.

[2] Every serious and pious-minded person was called a "Puritan"—a term of contempt. Baxter, e.g., complains that he heard his father so reproached although "he never scrupled Common-Prayer or ceremonies, nor spake against bishops, nor ever so much as prayed but by a book or form . . . but only for reading Scripture when the rest were dancing on the Lord's Day, and for praying (by a form out of the end of the Common-Prayer Book) in his house, and for reproving drunkards or swearers, and for talking sometimes a few words of Scripture and the life to come, he was

of fact, either a Presbyterian, an Independent, or an Episcopalian. But in prelacy he always saw a force with which he could never be at peace. We have to-day quite unconsciously come round to agreement with many of the contentions urged by these opponents of prelacy, but they lived 250 years before their time. The grand state of the bishops, the secular offices which they held, their tyrannous and arbitrary conduct, were abuses which could not exist for a moment to-day. But at that time episcopacy was practically inseparable from these grave evils. The best of the Puritans saw that it need not be so, but all their arguments against prelacy were twisted into objections against episcopacy. "Prelacy" was the word used to describe episcopacy with certain superadded elements, and it was just these which caused the trouble and served as a handle by which Presbyterianism could take a temporary grip upon English religious life. Really the anti-prelatic party were quite right, when they complained that the bishops of their time were not fashioned on the primitive model. In primitive times episcopacy was a representative democracy; in Caroline times it had become an aristocratic oligarchy; and it was just this difference which made the bishops so out of harmony with the spirit of their time. No rule is worse than the oligarchic, and this is an abuse which would injure any system. In the earliest times "the bishop was to be elected by the people and this was the general rule of the Church".[1]

reviled commonly by the name of Puritan, Precisian, and Hypocrite: and so were the godly conformable ministers that lived anywhere in the country near us". ("Reliquiæ Baxterianæ," ed. 1696, p. 3.)

[1] Wordsworth, "Ministry of Grace," pp. 129 and 142. Cf. also Bingham, "Antiquities," Bk. IV, chap. II. and Stillingfleet,

This absence of election was one of the Presbyterians' strongest points.[1]

Again the plea for preaching bishops was a sound one. "The preaching of the Gospel is the peculiar duty of bishops,"[2] but their duty was all too frequently neglected and the time which belonged to their spiritual work was wasted in State duties, which could have been performed at least equally well by laymen and without any prejudice to the Church. As we shall see later on, the most far-sighted men in England were for a "moderate episcopacy," which meant the retention of episcopal rule without the abuses which had grown up round the office. But they never had their way. The bishops were not willing to part with their magnificence and, to say the least, this fact did not strengthen the hold of episcopacy on the English people.

The association of Puritanism with Presbyterianism at the time of the Civil War was largely political, almost accidental.[3] Had the Church been really far-seeing it might have allied itself with reformed episcopacy, and

"Irenicum," ed. 1662, p. 414. "The episcopal men will hardly find any evidence . . . in the primitive Church for the ordination of the bishop without the preceding election of the clergy, and, at least, consent and approbation of the people." It is a question which presses hard upon those who hastily pronounce the ministry of others invalid whether such a serious departure from the earliest custom can be viewed with satisfaction.

[1] And still is, Cf. Macphail, "The Presbyterian Church," p. 139. "The members of the Church of Jerusalem . . . were consulted in the choice of an apostle, but the members of the Church of England are not trusted even to select a curate."

[2] Wordsworth, op. cit. p. 163.

[3] "The Presbyterianism of the Civil War . . . was an abrupt and startling and illogical expansion from the basis of English Puritanism." (Shaw, "History of the English Church, 1640-1660," Vol. I, p. 6.)

so the ever-widening breach would have been closed. Presbyterianism in England "was an exotic, a parasite," and the short connexion of the two only weakened Puritanism for several years. But "the Nonconformist Churches are the progeny of Puritanism," [1] and that a truly spiritual movement took such a wrong turn is attributable generally to the perverseness of men and particularly to the obtuseness of the rulers of the time, both clerical and lay.

It could be said at the close of the sixteenth century: "There is not any man of the Church of England but the same man is also a member of the Commonwealth, nor any man a member of the Commonwealth which is not also of the Church of England."

What then are the reasons why it was no longer so before the next century was half completed?

Some of the reasons we have already seen; the fatal union between the Church and a State, obsessed with ideas which were contrary to reason and fatal to progress, which compelled all who looked for reform in the State to associate themselves more or less sincerely with the Puritans.

But this political cause did not stand alone. With the change which time was bound to bring in the adjustment of the absurdities of autocratic rule, things might have righted themselves. But there was a much more powerful force behind, which made the evil irreparable. This force centred in the striking personality of William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury. It does not come within our scope to discuss his character and work in detail. As to his sincerity of purpose and holiness of life there can be little difference of opinion.

[1] Henson, "English Religion in the Seventeenth Century," p. 124.

That he found himself confronted with extraordinary difficulties is equally certain. But those very difficulties which were really his opportunities, Laud never understood.

Instead of seeing in them manifestations of spiritual awakening and interest, he saw nothing but forces hostile to the Church, and that those forces did become hostile is very largely his fault. He appears never to have been able to appreciate the distinction between uniformity and unity, nor ever to have grasped the idea of a broad and comprehensive National Church.[1]

It is sometimes said that Laud saved the Church of England. This is only very partially true. It all depends upon what we mean by the Church of England. If we mean he so saved the Church that it remained the Church of the English nation, then it is not true. It would be much more correct to say that he destroyed the Church in this sense. The ideal of a National Church surely should be to comprehend the sum total of the religious life of the nation. This was never Laud's ideal.[2] His policy was one of inclusion by force and not by comprehension, and this resulted in practice

[1] "The conditions of human life have ruled that, to accomplish its work, the Church must admit differences of organization. This admission, however, has never been made. Men in the past failed to recognize any unity that was not structural; and though the course of the world's history has declared against this conception, it is still not abandoned. Human frailty, unable to realize the spiritual order save in the forms of earthly polity, has passionately striven to retain an ideal of the Church which has become obsolete, and has sacrificed unity, which is possible, to uniformity which is impossible." (Creighton, "Church and the Nation," p. 208.)

[2] "The National Church had been substantially national till it was narrowed into a party by Laud." (Gwatkin in "Cambridge Modern History," Vol. V, p. 330.)

in a policy of exclusion. It is a clear fact of history that from his time onward it was no longer possible for the Church of England to be the Church of the whole people.[1] He drove the wedge between episcopacy and the free religious mind. Laud's ideal for the Church was that of a "finely articulated hierarchical system, legislative, administrative," and wielding an authority as absolute as that of an autocratic monarch.

The whole trouble lay in the prevalent conception of the ministry as held by the King and the bishops.

It is important to examine this carefully.

We saw in the last chapter how the idea of episcopacy as the exclusive form of Church government established by Divine authority first made its appearance in the Reformed Church. Under Elizabeth such a theory was not likely to receive much support. She had too much of the spirit of the Tudors to sanction an authority higher than her own. It was enough to base the Church's greatness upon the fact that it was the Queen's

[1] The animus he had stirred up against himself is strikingly illustrated by an amazing speech by Harbottle Grimston in the House, December, 1640: "We are now fallen upon the great man, the Archbishop of Canterbury; look upon him as he is in highness and he is the sty of all pestilential filth, that hath invested the state and government of this Commonwealth. . . . Who is it, Mr. Speaker, but he only that hath advanced all our popish bishops. . . . These are the men that should have fed Christ's flock but they are the wolves that have devoured them; the sheep should have fed upon the mountains but the mountains have eaten up the sheep. . . . There is scarce any grievance or complaint come before us in this place, wherein we do not find him intermentioned and, as it were, twisted into it—like a busy, angry wasp his sting is in the tail of everything. Mr. Speaker, he hath been the great and common enemy of all goodness and good men; and it is not safe that such a viper should be near his Majesty's person to distil his poison into his sacred ears." (Rushworth, "Collections," ed. 1691, Vol. V, p. 122.)

Church. So her authority was enhanced and not weakened by the Church's authority, which she wished to be considered as an authority delegated to it by her.

But with the accession of the Stuarts a change took place. They had not the resources of the Tudors. Though at first James I showed every disposition to continue the suppression of Puritanism and discourage the approximation to the Roman theory of episcopal authority, yet the rapid increase of Puritan influence, particularly in Parliament, caused him to see in this theory of episcopacy a means to check the growth of a force (i.e. Puritanism) which he saw was antagonistic to himself.

The idea then of episcopacy as the method of Church polity exclusively sanctioned by Divine authority was fostered. The choice before the King was, should he share the government of the Church with the Parliament (an institution as hostile to his own pretensions as to the Church's), or should he ally himself to a power which was disposed to claim with himself a Divine Right? He chose the second alternative.

The Church was in much the same position, and it chose an alliance with the King, the terms of the alliance being a mutual determination to support one another's claim to Divine authority. "It was evidently the interest of the High Church party to impress upon the minds of men the same idea of a perpetual and infallible depository of Government in civil affairs that they sought to establish in religion."[1]

[1] Sanford, op. cit. p. 74. Another writer says: The Stuart bishops "were abject in their dependence on the Crown. This gratitude for the royal protection which enabled them to defy the religious instincts of the realm showed itself in the erection of the most dangerous pretensions of the monarchy into religious dogmas . . . they preached passive obedience to the worst tyranny. They

Instead of the relation between the civil and religious power being expressed as "The King's Church" as in Tudor times, it became "the Church's King". Laud's mistake may roughly be stated thus: he failed to make "the people's Church" his ideal. The democratic government of the Church never appeared on the horizon of his thought, and this was just at a time when democracy was beginning its march to victory![1]

The effect of this upon the Puritan mind can easily be seen. Not only was freedom of thought to be stifled by ecclesiastics ruling by Divine authority, but the Church would be removed above the control of Parliament, and it, as its own part of the bargain, would reward the Crown "by throwing the sanction of religion over a policy destructive of" the people's "civil liberties".[2]

declared the person and goods of the subject to be at the King's absolute disposal. They were turning religion into a systematic attack on English liberty, nor was their attack to be lightly set aside." (Green, "History of the English people," ed. 1886, Vol. III, p. 139.)

[1] That Churchmen with lofty ideals should thus have taken their cue from the State may be surprising, but it was but a repetition of history. In the early Church the democratic spirit was lost in a similar way. Speaking of the effect of Imperial support upon the Church the Bishop of Oxford says: "The effect of 'establishment' in the East was to tend to assimilate the Church to the Empire in ideas and methods no less than in gradation of dignities. In the West the essentially imperialist temper of Rome moulded the institutions of Christendom, and gave them a new direction and new characteristics. Thus in the fifth century Socrates remarks, 'the episcopate of the Romans, like that of the Alexandrians, had already for some time advanced beyond the limits proper to the priesthood to the point of despotism'. So it was that episcopacy passed into a new phase. The authority of kings and popes overwhelmed the democratic elements in the Christian polity." (Gore, "Church and the Ministry," p. 96.)

[2] Sanford, op. cit. p. 75.

"The Divine Right of a clergy is no more friendly to a happy, an ordered, an efficient Church, than is the Divine Right of a King conducive to a free and progressive state."[1]

Perfectly true! The doctrine of Divine Right of the King issued ultimately in the downfall of the monarchy, the Divine Right of the bishops resulted in a great wave of the best and sincerest religious thought in the country reluctantly receding from the Church. Judging the tree by its fruits the doctrine of episcopacy by Divine Right was not a good tree.

But to hold this dangerous theory was one thing; to put it inviolably into practice was quite another. Laud was entirely consistent, but not so with many of his school.

There was always a grave question that had to be determined, reaching farther than this country. What was the attitude to be adopted by the English Church to the Continental Presbyterians? Laud's answer was clear. Their ministry was invalid. This contention he argued in 1604 when proceeding to the B.D. degree at Oxford, and was for this reason rebuked by the Regius Professor as "a seditious person," who by this "novel popish position" would "sow division between us and them".[2]

But others equally zealous for episcopacy, but with a wider charity, could not adopt this short and easy way of settling the question. Bishop Andrewes, whose views

[1] Fairbairn, "Catholicism, Roman and Anglican," p. 345.

[2] He maintained that "there could be no true Church without diocesan bishops". "For which last he was shrewdly rattled by Dr. Holland . . . as one that did endeavour to cast a bone of discord betwixt the Church of England and the Reformed Churches beyond the seas." (Heylin, "Cyprianus Anglicus," ed. 1668, p. 54.)

were of the highest upon this point, expressed himself in familiar words.[1] In his correspondence with du Moulin in 1618, he wrote: "Though our government be by Divine Right, it follows not, either that 'there is no salvation' or that 'a Church cannot stand without it'. He must needs be stone blind that sees not Churches standing without it; he must needs be made of iron and hard-hearted that denies them salvation. . . . This is not to damn anything, to prefer a better thing before it: this is not to damn your Church, to recall it to another form, that all antiquity was better pleased with, i.e. to ours."[2]

Bishop Cosin, too, shirked the argument when pressed in this direction. In his sermons[3] he took quite the exclusive position, yet in a letter dated 7 February, 1650, written from Paris to Mr. Cordel at Blois, who was shy of communicating with the French Reformed Church, he wrote: "To speak my mind freely to you, I would not wish any of ours absolutely to refuse communicating

[1] Dean Granville, though a pronounced High Churchman, rejects the extreme position, but on other grounds. "I know there be some among our eminent divines, and possibly among our bishops, that would unchurch them in a manner. But I fear that that is a bad piece of service to Christendom, and to the Church of England itself, to unchurch therewith so great a part of Christendom as the Reformed Churches which want episcopal government, and to make our poor Church of England a distinct thing from all other Churches, and to stand by itself, which God knows hath been too long in too tottering a condition to despise such supports . . . . There are among our bishops and eminent divines . . . many who will not by any means unchurch the Reformed Churches abroad." (Denis Granville, "Remains," ed. 1865, Vol. I, p. 36.) He wrote this opinion about 1675.

[2] Andrewes, "Three Epistles of Peter du Moulin answered," ed. 1647, p. 24.

[3] *Vide* Cosin, "Works," A.C.L. ed., Vol. I, p. 99.

in their Church or determine it to be unlawful, for fear of a greater scandal that may thereupon arise, than we can tell how to answer or excuse." This correspondence is of interest for other reasons than this one extract, for in it Cosin gives exhaustively his opinion of Presbyterian ordinations and it is of interest to note these points. He "would be loath to affirm and determine it against" those ordained by the Presbyterian method, "that there is a total nullity in their ordination, or that they be therefore no priests or ministers of the Church at all". Though these ordinations "be disorderly done," "though they make unlawfully," yet they "shall not be altogether null and invalid". He gives the best proof of what he here argues when he goes on to say: "Therefore, if at any time a minister so ordained in these French Churches, came to incorporate himself in ours, and to receive a public charge or cure of souls among us in the Church of England (as I have known some of them to have so done of late, and can instance in many other before my time), our bishops did not re-ordain him before they admitted him to his charge, as they must have done if his former ordination here in France had been void." Next he defends this position from another than the mere sentimental point of view. "There have been both learned and eminent men" in all ages who maintained "that presbyters have the intrinsical power of ordination *in actu primo*," and then gives an imposing list of those who so thought from Jerome to Hooker; "all which authors are of so great credit with you and me, that though we are not altogether of their mind, yet we would be loath to let the world see that we contradict them all, and condemn their judgment openly; as needs we must if we hold the contrary, and say that the ministers of the Reformed French Churches, for want

of episcopal ordination have no order at all".[1] It is too well known to require more than mere mention that when Cosin, fearing imprisonment for certain offences charged against him, withdrew to France, in 1643, he freely communicated with the French Presbyterians there at Charenton, and afterwards defended his action in preferring to communicate with them rather than with the Roman Church.[2]

Cosin was not the only one of our divines brought face to face with the situation on the Continent. Many of our clergy were for various reasons forced to leave the country during the Commonwealth. Their behaviour on the Continent is the best evidence as to their views. There was a choice assembly of English divines at Paris in company with Cosin. Morley, afterwards Bishop of Winchester, the Bishop of Galloway, Drs. Earle, Clare, Wolley, Lloyd, and Duncan were among the number. These and a following of lesser clergy and lay folks, formed an English congregation which met at first in a private house and later on in the chapel of the English ambassador, Sir Richard Brown.[3] Morley secured the position of "chaplain at Heidelberg to Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia, at a salary of £50 per annum with permission 'to officiate according to the Liturgy of the Church of England, without any subordination to the classis'".[4]

An even more interesting experience was that of Isaac Basire, a close personal friend of Bishop Cosin, and a man who held a high position in the Church. He journeyed first to Rouen, his native city, leaving behind

[1] *Vide* Fleetwood, "Works," ed. 1854, Vol. II, pp. 180 ff.
[2] Heylin, "Examen Historicum," pp. 284 ff.
[3] Cosin's "Works," A.C.L. ed., Vol. I, p. xvi.
[4] Stoughton, "Church of the Commonwealth," ed. 1901, p. 305.

him his wife and family. He travelled through Italy and visited the islands of the Mediterranean, Turkey, Greece, Aleppo, and Jerusalem. He had interesting experiences with the Greek and Roman clergy and the Eastern and Coptic Churches, endeavouring to show them all the excellencies of the English Church.[1]

Even the clergy of the Channel Islands were not left undisturbed during the troubled period of Cromwell's protectorate. How they fared on the Continent is described for us by one of them, and we will give it in his own words: "Monsieur le Couteur, now Dean of the Island of Jersey, of whom I have spoken already, and Doctor Brevint, now prebendary of Duresme, a person whose worth is very well known, and myself, among the rest were of this number (i.e. ejected from their benefices). We were all then one after another expelled out of the Island of Jersey our native country. I had the honour . . . to go out first, and though it was well known in France how zealous I was for my Mother Church . . . I had no sooner acquainted my friends with the condition I was in, but the Reformed Church of Caen invited me very kindly . . . to come and be one of their ministers. And not long after, the Landgrave of Hesse, having written to the ministers of Paris to send him a minister to preach in French at his Highness' court, I was by them recommended to that Prince, of whom likewise I received a very kind invitation by several letters. For what do I say all this? . . . To let the world know that a priest and a true son of the Church of England . . . is counted a true minister by the Reformed Churches abroad . . . Monsieur le Couteur being invited . . . at the same time to the Reformed

[1] For some interesting details *vide* "Life and Letters of Dr. Isaac Basire," ed. 1831, by Darnall.

Church of Caen, and Doctor Brevint soon after to another Church in Normandy (whence he was preferred to be chaplain to the most illustrious and renowned Prince of Turenne)," after exhibiting their Orders and explaining the cause of their exile, gave an undertaking " to conform to their rites and ceremonies and Orders of their Church " and were then instituted into their charges.[1]

It is not necessary to comment at any length upon the significance of these facts. They witness beyond dispute to the cordial relations between Protestants at home and abroad and to the mutual recognition of one another's status as Christian Churches. But we must return, after this digression, to continue our notices of the views of some typical Church divines on the subject under consideration.

Jeremy Taylor's views were more extreme, certainly so far as they appear in his " Episcopacy by Divine Right Asserted," though there is a good reason to suppose that later in life his opinion became more charitable (the book was written when Taylor was 29). In this work he engages in the impossible task of attempting to prove that our Lord Himself instituted the threefold ministry. The apostles were the bishops, " the seventy " were priests! As to Presbyterian ordination there can be no doubt of its invalidity. Commenting upon the ordination of Pope Pelagius I, when two bishops and a presbyter, Andreas, performed the act, he says, " for my part, I believe that the imposition of hands by Andreas was no more in that case than if a layman had done it ".[2]

[1] Durel, " View of the Government and Public Worship of God in the Reformed Churches beyond the Seas," ed. 1662, pp. 93-4.

[2] " Episcopacy by Divine Right Asserted," § 31. So scarce were Roman bishops in Ireland in Elizabethan days that by papal

"In no case is it lawful to separate from episcopacy, that is the quintessence and spirit of schism, and a direct overthrow to Christianity and a confronting of a Divine institution." [1] As we have already seen, he had grave doubts that there was any necessity which justified even the Continental reformers in departing from the ancient custom.

Bishop Joseph Hall, however, though he takes very high ground in his work on the same subject as we have already noted, took the contrary view respecting the foreign Presbyterians. Necessity compelled them to adopt a different method, and this necessity validated their orders. But English Presbyterians, he argued, had no such necessity.[2] He gives a definition of what he means by "a Divine institution" and it is clearly very different from Taylor's idea. "When we speak of a Divine Right, we mean not an express law of God requiring it upon the absolute necessity of the being of a Church, what hindrance soever may interpose; but a Divine institution warranting it where it is and requiring it where it may be had." . . . "The neighbour Churches and their famous divines . . . would most gladly embrace this our form of government, which differs little from

authority one bishop assisted by two priests was declared competent to consecrate another bishop.

[1] "Episcopacy by Divine Right Asserted," § 46.

[2] Cf. Thorndike. Of the foreigners he says: "Let the difficulty of procuring ordinations and having bishops render them excusable to God." ("Due way of comprehending Differences," p. 63.) But of English Dissenters he writes: "Being by their creation schismatics, and their profession not clearing them of misprision of heresy, they can no more be acknowledged by those that pretend to adhere to the Church of England, than Belial by Christ, or darkness by light." ("Concerning the present state of Religion," A.C.L. ed., Vol. V, p. 19.)

their own, save, in the perpetuity of their προστασία or Moderatorship; and the exclusion of that lay presbytery which never till this age had footing in the Christian Church."[1]

His opinion as to the reason why Presbyterians were in many cases re-ordained before being admitted into cure of souls we also noted, but it is well to recall that when this was done (which was by no means always) "the sticking at" their admission in Hall's opinion "was not in the case of ordination but of institution," and he recollects "more than one" who had been admitted to "spiritual promotions and livings" without re-ordination.

It must not be imagined from these extracts that episcopacy by Divine Right was the view held by all the leaders of the Church at this time. But it was certainly the position taken up by the dominant party, the party which controlled the policy of the Church. The average opinion of this school of thought might be stated as follows: It was reluctant to deny absolutely the validity of Presbyterian orders, on grounds of policy and common sense—of policy, because the preservation of the unity of the Protestant world was of great importance; and of common sense, because it was really idle to deny the vitality of the non-episcopal Churches. The idea of national Churches still survived. If necessity compelled it, another method of Church government than the

[1] "Humble Remonstrance," pp. 340, 341. Cf. also "As for our brethren the Protestants of foreign Churches reformed, the most learned and judicious of themselves have bewailed their misery for want of bishops. And therefore, God forbid, that I should be so uncharitable as to condemn them for no Churches for that which is their infelicity, not their fault. But as for our perverse Protestants at home I cannot say the same of them, seeing they impiously reject that which the others piously desire." (Bishop Morton, *ap.* Lathbury, "History of Convocation," p. 293.)

ancient would be valid, and it was the clear duty of every individual to abide by the ruling of his National Church in such a matter.

But the Caroline divines were faced by a novel situation. There was a growing secession from the National Episcopal Church. What was to be their verdict upon *English* Presbyterian orders? The dominant High Church Party agreed that they were invalid and that no parallel could be drawn between them and Continentals ordained in an identical way. Episcopacy could be had in England. The absence of bishops would not necessarily invalidate an ordination, but the rejection of bishops, which was what the English Dissenters were doing, was a vastly different matter. Schism from an orthodox Episcopal Church invalidated their whole position.[1]

At first sight this appears to be an intelligible enough position, but upon examination it quite breaks down. For it is clear that if the non-existence of episcopal government does not destroy the very being of a Church, it cannot be a Divine necessity, and the whole argument

[1] This is clearly stated by John Scott, though he belongs to a somewhat later time. "Whenever the Divine Providence doth by *unavoidable* necessity deprive any Church of its episcopacy, it thereby, and for the *present* at least, and whilst the necessity continues, releases it from the obligation of the institution of episcopacy and allows it to administer its government and discipline by a parity of presbyters. And, therefore, so long as it doth not renounce the episcopacy but still continues in community with other Churches that enjoy it, it ought to be looked upon and communicated with as a true member (though a marred one) of the Church Catholic. . . . Yet it is a plain case, that if it rejects the episcopacy and separates from the communion of it, it thereby wholly divides itself from the communion of the Catholic Church." ("Christian Life," ed. 1697, Pt. II, p. 312.)

for episcopacy by Divine Right established is stultified. If the absence of anything under any circumstances is to be permitted, that same thing cannot logically be regarded as an essential.

But further, the question arises, who is to define the degree of the necessity which justifies a non-episcopal ministry? Clearly the seceding party. The Roman party would not have allowed that the necessity which the foreign Protestants pleaded was adequate. But the Continental reformers maintained that it was, and what was their conscientious conviction was approved by the Protestant world. Now apply this to the English Dissenters. They maintained that necessity compelled them to take the course they took. We must be just and admit their sincerity. None of them separated from the Church by choice, they maintained that they were driven out. Conscientious scruples, such as kneeling at the Communion and wearing the surplice, compelled them to separate. In the eyes of many of them, episcopacy, as then in practice, appeared so closely identified with false and superstitious teaching that a conscientious necessity compelled them to fall back upon another system. This necessity, in their eyes at any rate, was as great as the foreigners' in their eyes. An impartial judge would certainly have allowed that here was a necessity which justified.

So that the argument adopted by the Caroline High Churchmen was illogical and inadequate. Laud's position it would appear was at least logical. He denied the validity of non-episcopal orders *in toto*, both at home and abroad, and he certainly had the courage of his convictions.

Furthermore it savours of begging the question to

argue that because the Dissenters were schismatics their orders were invalid. On what grounds were they schismatics? This question will require further consideration later on, but in its immediate reference to orders, it must receive some attention here.

Clearly it was not a satisfying argument to urge that Dissenters were schismatics because they had separated from a national episcopal Church, for this proved more than could be admitted. By this line of reasoning, all the Protestants on the Continent were schismatics. Yet if the point was to be reached, that the non-episcopal ministry in England was invalid because English Presbyterians were schismatics, what could be taken as a starting-point? It was hard to find one; and it certainly seems that in this controversy the Dissenters had the best of the argument. The circular line of reasoning employed by the *jure divino* episcopalian is concisely summed up by a Nonconformist of eighty years later: "Our meetings are schismatical for we have no true ministers, and why so? Because we have only Presbyterian ordination: and when we urge that this unchurches the Reformed Churches beyond the seas, they answer: 'No, though Presbyterian ordination may be valid among them'—yet it is not so with us because our ministers are ordained in a schism: thus the invalidity of our ordination must prove the schism and, in requital of its kindness, schism must prove our ordination invalid, and so we are got into the circle, and by treading such rounds, contract that giddiness which makes us fall foul upon one another." [1]

[1] "A Vindication of Mr. H.'s Brief Inquiry into the True Nature of Schism," 1691, p. 89.

Note on the Synod of Dort.

We are fortunately spared the necessity of entering into the questions which caused the convening of the Synod of Dort, but there are a few points of such importance connected therewith that it cannot be passed over without reference.

The questions at issue between the Arminians and Calvinists had become so pressing in the Low Countries that it was decided to call a synod to inquire into the matter. Invitations were widely issued, and among others, James I was asked to send delegates from the English Church. In 1618 the divines met and the English deputation consisted of four clergy: Carleton, Bishop of Llandaff; Joseph Hall, afterwards Bishop of Norwich; Davenant, afterwards Bishop of Salisbury; and Samuel Ward, Archdeacon of Taunton.

The rights and wrongs of the wearisome questions at issue are nothing to the point, but what requires emphasis is the fact that this was definitely an act of formal recognition of the Continental Reformed Churches by our Church. It was clearly so regarded by the King and the deputation. The King's explicit directions clearly suggest that the delegates were representative. In debating they were to resolve among themselves "jointly what is fit to be maintained. And this to be done agreeable to the Scriptures, and the doctrine of the Church of England." Yet we find it spoken of as "a private deputation of English theologians"![1]

All the representatives were required to take an admission oath. There is one striking sentence in this oath which deserves mention: "I shall propound nothing to myself in this whole cause, besides the glory of

[1] Hardwick, "History of the Articles," p. 193.

God, the peace of the Church and especially the preservation of the purity of doctrine therein." [1]

It has been said that "at this strange gathering" our delegates "found themselves out of place".[2] There does not seem much to warrant this statement.[3] On the contrary, they were treated with princely hospitality and appear to have taken leading parts at the synod. Joseph Hall was one of the selected preachers, and on 29 November he preached "a polite and pathetical Latin sermon" before the synod which "was taken well". Amongst other things he exhorted his hearers "to stand to the former determinations, which had hitherto most generally past in the Reformed Churches, in these points: and told them it was an especial part of his Majesty's commission to exhort them to keep unaltered the former Confessions". . . . "After this he brought a very pathetical conclusion consisting of a vehement exhortation to peace and union, and so he ended," [4] using the striking phrase: "Unum corpus sumus, simus et unanimes".

It was, however, a sign of the times that the sending of delegates to this conference was not suffered to pass without a protest afterwards. "The English that appeared there," says Jeremy Collier, "were no other than four Court divines: their commission and instructions were only from the King . . . they had no delegation from the bishops, and by consequence were no representatives of the British Church".[5]

[1] *Vide* Fuller, Vol. III, pp. 275-6.

[2] Frere, "History of the English Church," p. 383.

[3] Except that they, of course, disagreed with the majority on the question of "the parity of ministers".

[4] Hales, "Letters from the Synod of Dort," ed. 1688, pp. 382-3.

[5] Vol. II, p. 718.

At a time when the Church was so very Erastian, this arguing is anachronistic. We naturally ask, had the representatives at Hampton Court any "delegation from the bishops?" Or when Laud sought to force the liturgy on the Scotch had he any "delegation from the bishops"? Certainly if the latter had been so taken to task his retort would have been speedy and effective, if not quite convincing.

To put the ecclesiastical before the royal authority in this fashion was not the custom of the times, and to repudiate the deputation to Dort on such grounds is little less than absurd.

CHAPTER IX.

MODERATE EPISCOPACY AND THE SAVOY CONFERENCE.

In the reign of Charles I, the storm which had been slowly gathering burst in all its fury.

"Two ideas of Church reform evolved themselves: one, that of separating from simple, primitive, episcopacy all prelatical assumptions; and another, which amounted to a decided revolution in the Church, including the extinction of episcopacy altogether." [1]

In the Long Parliament "the great mass of the Puritan party leant to a modified episcopacy and a 'Constitutional Monarchy on the basis of the Statute Law and especially the Petition of Right' ".[2] But as the former was as little acceptable to the Church as the latter was to the King, the policy of the extremists was the one adopted, and we find a Parliament in which the large majority were Churchmen and supporters of a monarchy assenting (rather than consenting), to a bill for the total abolition of episcopacy and also taking up arms against the King.

The consideration of episcopacy by the House of Commons was undertaken unwillingly, but the presentation of various petitions, signed by many and influential hands, forced on the situation early in 1641. Petitions from the extremists were presented from

[1] Stoughton, "Church of the Civil Wars," ed. 1901, p. 97.

[2] Sanford, op. cit. p. 285.

twelve counties calling for the abolition of episcopacy. These were largely a reply to the Ministers' Petition, signed by seven hundred or eight hundred clergymen demanding reforms on the basis of a moderate episcopacy, 23 January, 1641. It is important to note some of the objections made in this significant remonstrance, as we shall thus get a clear idea of the standpoint of the moderate episcopalian.

Bishops are not of Divine institution and should not assume the sole power of confirmation, ordination, and jurisdiction. Their dioceses are inconveniently large. They are hampered in their work by temporal power and estate. Their interference in such matters as probate of wills, and the prohibition of marriage at certain seasons, are resented. The secular employment of bishops and their judicial power in Parliament, the magnificence of their state, the great revenues of deans and chapters, are also mentioned as objections, and, of course, the familiar grievance as to ceremonies in the Prayer Book.

This petition was read on 1 February and a debate ensued, to be followed a week later by a much more striking debate upon the Londoners' Petition. This was a petition signed by 15,000 Londoners, which had been presented to the House by 1600 gentlemen of quality on 11 December, 1640, praying for the abolition of episcopacy root and branch. The most striking feature of this painful debate was the way in which men, in theory episcopalians, were loud and insistent in denouncing the bishops and demanding reform. No clearer proof could be given of the unsatisfactory and provocative conduct of the bishops than this. One of their strongest supporters in the House, Pleydell, who declared himself as "a dutiful son of our distressed

mother, the Church of England,"[1] could make only a lame defence and plea. The reformers demanded that all the temporal power of the bishops should be taken away, they should be deprived of seats on the bench, at the Council Board, and in Parliament except in cases when they were required as expert advisers on spiritual matters.

It will be seen that the feeling of the House of Commons was directly in line with moderate reform and not at all disposed to destroy the traditional form of Church government. Sir Benjamin Rudyard, who opened the debate, simply wished to see the bishops more firmly controlled. Episcopacy properly carried out "is the most primitive, the most spreading, the most lasting, government of the Church; wherefore, whilst we are earnest to take away innovations, let us beware we bring not in the greatest innovation ever was in England . . . let us well bethink ourselves whether a popular democratic government of the Church, though fit for other places, will be either suitable or acceptable to a regal monarchical government of the State. Wherefore, Mr. Speaker, my humble motion is that we may punish the present offenders and reduce and preserve the calling for better men hereafter." "Some of ours as soon as they are bishops, *adepto fine, cessant motus*, they will preach no longer, their office then is to govern. But in my opinion they govern worse than they preach, though they preach not at all; for we see to what pass their government hath brought us."[2]

Another member, D'Ewes, in his diary reports that

[1] Rushworth, "Collections," 1692, Vol. V, p. 187.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 183.

he spoke as follows: "If by episcopacy is meant their vain aerial titles of worship, the spoils of the Crown with which they are loaden and their vast tyrannical power which they exercise . . . I just gave my 'Aye' for the abolishing of them. But if by episcopacy is meant only their spiritual function as it stood in the primitive and purest times, then I should give my negative voice, for I should highly prize a godly preaching bishop,[1] and heartily wish we might make ours such."[2]

Lord Digby, while denying he was an extremist, maintained that no one in the House was more anxious than he to witness "a clipping of the wings of the prelates, whereby they have mounted to such insolencies," nor anyone "whose zeal is more ardent to the searing them so, as they may never spring again". After severely criticizing the petition in several important points he continued: "I protest sincerely, Mr. Speaker, I cannot cast mine eye upon this petition nor my thoughts on the practices of the Churchmen that have governed it of late, but they appear to me to be a scourge employed by God upon us for the sins of the nation. . . . I am confident there is no man hears me" (he had been recounting the actions of the prelates) "but is brimful of indignation. For my part I confess I am so inflamed with the sense of them, that I find myself ready to cry

[1] "Mr. Speaker, we shall find them to have been like the hen in Æsop, which laying every day an egg upon such a portion of barley, her mistress increasing her portion in hopes she would increase her eggs, she grew so fat upon that addition that she never laid more; so that at first their preaching were the occasion of their preferment, they after made their preferment the occasion of their not preaching." (Lord Falkland in the House, *vide* Rushworth, Vol. V, p. 184.)

[2] D'Ewes' Diary, 1, 210.

out with the loudest of the 15,000, 'Down with them, down with them, even to the ground!'" But he concluded, "Let us not destroy bishops, but make bishops such as they were in the primitive times. Do their large territories, their large revenues offend? let them be retrencht. Do their courts and subordinates offend? let them be brought to govern as in primitive times, by assemblies of their clergy. Doth their intermeddling in secular affairs offend? exclude them from the capacity."[1]

Sir Nathaniel Fiennes answered Lord Digby with a lengthy and bitter attack upon the bishops. Amongst many scandals he dilated upon the suppression of preaching clergy, pluralities, the way holy orders were sometimes obtained. "Sir, we know that orders are not given but in a manner sold; for that not only the bishop and his register, but also his usher, his chamberlain, his butler, and porter, and almost all his menial servants, must have their fees before the poor clerk with his boxful of orders can pass the porter's lodge. I hear much of the legal simony, which consisteth in the buying and selling of benefices, but whether this doth not approach nearer to the evangelical simony, which consisteth in the buying and selling of the gift of the Holy Ghost, I offer it to your consideration."[2]

Lord Falkland's speech was full of some striking

[1] Rushworth, op. cit. pp. 170-4. This was not at all to the liking of many of the bishops. "I hope in God," said Bishop Williams in Parliament, "it will not appear to your lordships, that there is any ground either of divinity or policy to inhibit men in orders so modestly to intermeddle with secular affairs as that the measure of intermeddling in such affairs shall not hinder nor obstruct the duties of their calling." (Hacket, "Scrinia Reserata," ed. 1692, Part. II, p. 170.) This did not come well from a pluralist bishop who was also the Lord Keeper of the Great Seal!

[2] *Ibid.* p. 180.

expressions. There was nothing essentially bad in episcopacy as the last speaker had seemed to suggest, so that "Bishops *may be* good men; and let us but give good men good rules, we shall have both good governors and good times. . . . My opinion is, that we should not root up this ancient tree, as dead as it appears, till we have tried whether by this or the like lopping of the branches, the sap which was unable to feed the whole may not serve to make what is left both grow and flourish." [1]

Harbottle Grimston also maintained there was no weight in the argument "that because the bishops have done amiss, therefore take away episcopacy". . . . "For my own part I conceive it an easier matter and safer for us to reform what is amiss in them and their government, than to set up a new form of government which we have no experience of." [2]

Another member, Bagshawe, a man of considerable learning, distinguished between primitive episcopacy *in statu puro*, and episcopacy *in statu corrupto*. "I hold that episcopacy in this latter sense is to be taken into consideration as a thing which trencheth not only upon the right and liberties of the subject, but, as it now is, it trencheth upon the Crown of England in these four points, namely (1) their claims of jurisdiction *jure divino;* (2) their maxim that episcopacy is inseparable from the Crown of England; (3) the illegality of legislation without the bishops as a third estate; (4) their holding ecclesiastical courts in their own names. . . . I am for a . . . thorough reformation of all abuses and grievances of episcopacy mentioned in the Ministers' Remonstrance,

[1] Rushworth, op. cit. pp. 185-6. [2] *Ibid.* p. 187.

which reformation may perhaps serve the turn without alteration of the government of England into a form of presbytery." [1]

When we remember that few of the Church leaders were in face of all this willing to abate any of their claims, it is not easy to defend the Caroline bishops against the charge of being more zealous for their own prerogatives than they were for the preservation of the ancient system of the Church.

"Hampden had promised that if the bill for excluding ecclesiastics from secular offices was passed, he and his friends would be content. They would not touch the spiritual power of bishops." [2] It was largely through episcopal opposition that it failed to pass. Both now and in 1660 they pointed to the rights of spiritual peers in the constitution from the early Saxon period. The King, too, would not hear of their exclusion from Parliament. In an address to Parliament, 25 January, 1614, he said: "If upon serious debate you shall show me that bishops have some temporal authority inconvenient to the State . . . I shall not be unwilling to desire them to lay it down. But this must not be understood that I shall in any way consent that their voices in Parliament should be taken away." [3]

The House of Lords rejected the main head of the Commons' Bill against bishops voting in Parliament [4] on

[1] *ap.* Shaw, op. cit. Vol. I, p. 40.

[2] Blaxland, op. cit. p. 80.

[3] Rushworth, op. cit. p. 155.

[4] The bishops clung tenaciously to their votes in Parliament, and when through fear of the London mob they feared to attend the House they sent a protest to the King signed by twelve of their number, which ran as follows: "Lastly, whereas their fears (i.e. the bishops') are not built upon phantasies and conceits, but upon such grounds and objects as may well terrify men of

24 May, 1641, and three days later the bill for "the utter demolishing and taking away of all archbishops, bishops, their chancellors, commissaries, deans, deans and chapters, archdeacons, prebendaries, chanters and canons, and all other their under officers" was introduced by Sir Edward Dering. "Sir," he said, "you see their demerits have exposed them *publici odii piaculares victimas.* I am sorry they are so ill; I am more sorry they will not be content to be bettered, which I did hope would be effected by our last bill. When this bill is perfected I shall give a sad 'Aye' unto it." But even yet Parliament had no idea of establishing the Presbyterian system, for the same speaker a little later on said: "I have not yet heard any one gentleman within these walls stand up and assert his thoughts for either of these ways"[1] (Independency and Presbyterianism). It is not necessary to say more on the proceedings in Parliament. Enough has been said to illustrate the views of leading politicians and indicate the course of events.

good resolutions and much constancy: they do in all duty and humility protest before your Majesty and the peers of the most honourable House of Parliament, against all laws, orders, votes, resolutions, and determinations as in themselves null and of none effect, which in their absence, since the 27th of this instant month of December, 1641, have already passed: as likewise against all such as shall hereafter pass in that most honourable House; during the time of their forced and violent absence from the said most honourable House." (Hacket, "Scrinia Reserata," ed. 1692, p. 179.) This conduct so irritated their colleagues in the House of Lords that they consented to a bill for their exclusion from the House in February, 1642, and in January, 1643, passed the bill for abolition "Root and Branch".

[1] Shaw, op. cit. p. 101. This particular bill was "hung up" after the third reading.

The Puritan protest was not a mere wrong-headed and bitter attack upon the bishops of the Church. There were, of course, extremists, but these existed on both sides and the influence of one faction was no greater than that of the other. The debates in the House were a faithful reflection of the exasperation of the nation at the overbearing conduct and interference of the bishops and clergy with matters which little concerned them. The religious part of the nation clearly appreciated the incompatibility of the magnificence and high temporal status of the prelates, with the simplicity and humility which are the real ornaments of the spiritual life. And the fact that episcopacy survived the storm and was again reinstated in the affections of the nation, is a striking proof of its complete harmony with the Divine mind and its intrinsic usefulness and excellence. "At no period in the history of this country has the deserving part of the clergy met with greater reverence and obedience within their own sphere than in the civil war period, and at no period has the revolt —partly popular, still more legal—against clerical interference in matters outside the domain of their activity, been more strongly and impatiently proclaimed." [1]

Even in the Westminster Assembly, an avowedly Puritan body which met 1643-1647, a number of the divines "were advocates for the ancient and moderate form of episcopacy, with some admixture of Presbyterian rule, and could not agree to the use of any expressions which, with regard to that rule, might seem to convey any censure." [2]

Indeed the failure of reform on the lines laid down by

[1] Shaw, op. cit. p. 53.

[2] Stoughton, "Church of the Civil Wars," p. 288.

the Long Parliament and the moderate Puritans was due to the refusal of the King and the Lords to assent to such reform, and on the other hand to political exigencies, and not to the clamouring of Puritan extremists. It was essential to obtain the assistance of the Scots against the King, and the condition laid down by them was the adoption of the Solemn League and Covenant and the abolition of episcopacy.[1] But this the Government was loath to do. Baillie, the Scottish Commissioner in England, wrote on 17 November, 1643, to Mr. William Spang, impatiently of the dilatoriness of the assembly in approaching the matter of Church government. "What here they will do we cannot say. *Mr. Henderson's hopes are not great of their conformitie to us before our armie be in England.*" And again, when "it please God to advance our armie," *this* "*we expect will much assist our arguments*".[2]

These facts point to the conclusion that the vast bulk of the nation really clung to the primitive system, and it was only for a while that, under pressure, they surrendered it.

There were, however, among the bishops several men wiser than the majority. Williams, Bishop of Lincoln and Dean of Westminster, was one of them. His char-

[1] "The acceptance of Presbyterianism by the English Parliament . . . was the price paid for Scotch assistance, when the success of the Royal arms had made it apparent that without such assistance the King would prevail; and as soon as the defeat of the King was assured, Presbyterianism was quietly dropped by the Government and eagerly repudiated by the nation." (Henson, op. cit. pp. 94 and 95.)

[2] Baillie, "Letters and Journal," ed. 1841, Vol. II, pp. 104 and 111.

acter was not above reproach.[1] He was an astute and far-seeing man, but he was controlled by selfish and opportunist motives rather than sincerity. He presided over a Committee on Religion appointed by the Lords in 1641, which consisted of ten bishops, including Usher, Hall, and Morton, ten earls and ten barons, to inquire into the questions at issue. Laud, whose dislike for Williams was entirely reciprocated, viewed this gathering with suspicion and anxiety.[2] And with good reason from his point of view, for, on many points on which he had insisted they recommended more liberty. The Communion Table might be placed in the body of the church; lighted candles, bowing to the Communion Table, images in the church, were to be done away; there was to be more preaching, two sermons on Sundays and Holy Days, and simpler singing. "Singing the 'Te Deum' in prose, after a cathedral church way, in divers parochial churches where the people have no skill in such music," was specially objected to by the ultra-Puritans. The Committee also recommended that the Ornaments Rubric should be revised, and the scandal occasioned by crossing in baptism either modified by a discreet rubric or taken away altogether. The revision of the calendar of saints, disuse of the Apocrypha, the omission of Benedicite, the lengthening of the Catechism and certain

[1] "A man of very imperious and fiery temper . . . he did not always confine himself to a precise veracity . . . he appeared to be a man of very corrupt nature whose passions could have transported him into the most unjustifiable actions." (Clarendon, "History of Rebellion," ed. 1707, Vol. I, p. 345.)

[2] Laud, "Works," III, p. 241. "This Committee will meddle with doctrine as well as ceremonies. . . . Upon the whole matter I believe this Committee will prove the national synod of England to the great dishonour of this Church, and what else may follow upon it, God knoweth."

changes in the services for marriage, burial, and visitation of the sick were advocated.[1]

But by this time the political situation was so grave, that measures like these, which would have probably quite healed the breach at the time of the Hampton Court Conference, and would have gone far to do so many years later, were inadequate.[2]

Williams volunteered a scheme for reforming the episcopate which is also of some interest.[3]

Bishops were to be preachers, and under penalty should preach at least once a Sunday. They were to have twelve assistants besides the deans and chapters; four to be appointed by each of the following, the King, the Lords, and the Commons. These twelve were to nominate three divines, when a see became vacant, and from these three the King was to make his selection.

But a scheme of a much more interesting character was that suggested in Usher's "Reduction of Episcopacy". The author was a scholar and divine of the highest possible character, and his proposition, while retaining the essential element of episcopacy, found favour for long afterwards with the majority of the Puritans both within and without the Church. Usher himself had much sympathy with Puritanism. He had been appointed one of the Westminster divines, but declined to attend the meetings. His own personal views of episcopacy are of great interest. "For myself," he wrote,

[1] *Vide* Blaxland, op. cit. pp. 78, 79; and Stoughton, op. cit. pp. 121-4.

[2] "A much milder reform would have satisfied in December, 1640, than a year or two later. This is true of both phases of the agitation —of the religious as well as the constitutional demands of the nation." (Shaw, op. cit. Vol. I, p. 2.)

[3] Neal, II, p. 465.

"I have ever declared my opinion to be that *episcopus et presbyter gradu tantum differunt, non ordine*, and consequently that in places where bishops cannot be had, the ordination of presbyters standeth valid." Presbyters who have parted from bishops "unto whom they have sworn canonical obedience" cannot by him "be excused from being schismatical". But though the Church in the Low Countries could have had bishops if they had wished, as they were not "under a popish power," "yet for testifying my communion with these Churches" (i.e. the French and Dutch), "which I do love and honour as true members of the Church universal, I do profess that with like affection I should receive the Blessed Sacrament at the hands of the Dutch ministers, if I were in Holland, as I should do at the hands of the French ministers if I were in Charenton".[1]

The idea of Usher's "Reduction" was to combine the essential features of Presbyterian discipline with a modification and extension of the episcopate. Churchwardens and sidesmen were to fill the post of Presbyterian lay-elders, and to make their voices heard in the organization and discipline of the parish. The clergy were to assist in the direction of the affairs of the diocese, and so the *bête noire* of Puritanism, episcopal autocracy, would be at least moderated. In every parish the rector or incumbent, with churchwardens and sidesmen, were to meet at short intervals for the settlement of parish affairs and discipline—this was to answer to the Presbyterian Kirk-session. In each rural-deanery a suffragan bishop was to be placed, and he was to assemble at frequent intervals all the clergy and lay-officials of his district to deal with the business which should arise—this was to be the

[1] Elrington's "Life of Usher," ed. 1848, pp. 258-60.

equivalent of the Presbytery. A diocesan synod should meet each half-year presided over by the "bishop or superintendent (call him whether you will)," answering to the Presbyterian Provincial Synod. Lastly, all the bishops and clergy of a province were to meet every third year with the primate presiding, who "might be the moderator of this meeting"; this was to answer to the General Assembly of the Kirk.[1]

We shall note from time to time the favour this scheme met with in several different directions. Both Moderate Churchmen and Puritans were willing to accept it. There was no repudiation of episcopacy, there was a free acceptance of the reasonable demand of Presbyterians for stronger discipline and a more democratic control of Church affairs. But the bishops loved their grand estate and great power, and such suggestions were not likely to meet with their approval. Nor was it now the time for the Puritans to compromise. When they could have everything, why should they accept only half? If such a plan had been proposed by the bishops when they were in power, beyond all reasonable doubt it would have satisfied both Parliament and people (excluding, of course, the irreconcilable minority), but they clung to prerogative until it was too late to make concessions.

The Puritans had suffered in the past and now the reins had fallen into their hands: when they were going to obtain all, it would be unreasonable to expect them to be satisfied with a compromise which, however pleasing to the best and most thoughtful of their number, was not satisfying to the extremists. Things had gone too far; events must take their course. So on the one

[1] This scheme is found in Baxter's "Reliquiæ".

occasion when the Puritans were capable of dictating terms to the episcopalians, their one word was not compromise but surrender. They had learnt it at Hampton Court in 1604.

The pendulum quickly swung back again when the monarchy was restored, and the Savoy Conference of 1661 afforded a grand chance for a final settlement. Both parties had tasted the sweets of victory and the bitterness of persecution in turn, and it was to be hoped a sweet reasonableness would be shown on both sides. But it was not so.

The King was anxious for an agreement between the parties. He declared that when he was in Holland he was so much impressed "by many grave and learned ministers from hence . . . of the Presbyterian opinion," that he determined upon his arrival in the kingdom to call a synod of divines "to provide a proper remedy for all these differences and dissatisfactions, which had, or should arise, in matters of religion". Meanwhile, the use of the surplice, bowing to the Communion Table, kneeling at the Sacrament, were to be optional. This declaration was brought before Parliament in the form of a bill, but was rejected by the Commons. So that the framing of an agreement rested with the promised conference.[1]

The proposals and objections of the Puritan divines deserve careful attention.[2] They were contained in a

[1] "Here was no generosity, or spirit of Catholicism, no remembrance of past services, no compassion for weak or prejudiced minds, but a fixed resolution to disarm their opponents at all events; so that the ensuing conferences with Presbyterians were no other than an amusement to keep them quiet, till they could obtain a law for their utter expulsion." (Neal, Vol. IV, p. 249.)

[2] *Vide* Baxter, "Reliquiæ," ed. 1696.

lengthy and carefully worded document. "The differences," they said, "are only in some various conceptions about the ancient form of Church government and some particulars about liturgy and ceremonies." Amongst other general complaints they urged that each "congregation" should have "a learned, orthodox, and godly pastor residing amongst them";[1] discipline as to admission to Holy Communion should be rigorously exercised, for "in this point is the chiefest part of difference with them indeed and not about ceremonies"; and "the Lord's Day should be soberly observed".

As for episcopacy, their views were clearly and cogently stated.

They dissented "from that ecclesiastical hierarchy or prelacy disclaimed in the Covenant," "yet we do not nor ever did renounce the true, ancient, and primitive presidency as it was balanced and managed by a due commixtion of presbyters therewith".[2] If this were

[1] Baxter pointed out to the King that "the prelacy which we disclaimed is that of diocesans, upon the claims of a superior order to a presbyter, assuming the sole power of public administration of particular offenders, enjoining penitence, excommunicating and absolving (besides confirmation) over so many churches as necessitated this corruption or extirpation of discipline, and the using of human officers (as chancellors, surrogators, officials, commissaries, archdeacons) while the undoubted officers of Christ (the pastors of the particular churches) were hindered from the exercise of their office". (Baxter, op. cit. Pt. II, p. 268.)

[2] Non-residence and pluralities were two abuses almost inseparable. But the leading clergy, for the most part, either could not or would not see the evil. E.g. in recommending pluralist clergy to see that their curates were diligent in their work one bishop adds; "I will frankly own I never yet heard an invincible objection against the prudent allowance and moderate use of pluralities; but only some plausible popular ones against the abuse of them". (Sprat of Rochester, Visitation Charge 1695.) The objections came almost entirely from the Puritans.

done " and other like evils may be certainly prevented, we shall humbly submit thereunto ".

In detail their objections and suggestions were :—

1. Great extent of dioceses. To remedy this suffragans should be chosen as advocated in Usher's " Reduction ".[1]

2. The old objection against officials, " Commissaries, chancellors, and officials whereof some were secular persons ".

3. Bishops were not to be regarded as a distinct order by Divine Right from that of presbyters.

4. The arbitrary rights of bishops objected to.

As for liturgical worship they wrote: " We are satisfied in our judgment concerning the lawfulness of a liturgy or form of public worship." But it must be agreeable to the Word of God and neither " tedious " nor " composed of too short prayers," and not so rigorously imposed but that licence might be given " for these gifts for prayer and exhortation to be used ".[2] They petitioned for a revision of the Prayer Book, and in reference to ceremonies pleaded that no coercion

[1] " We pleaded not at all with them for presbytery unless a moderate episcopacy be presbytery, yet was there a faction that called this office of Bishop Usher's episcopacy by the name of the ' Presbyterians' impudent expectations '." (*Ibid.* Pt. II, p. 232.)

[2] But these " gifts " were under grave suspicion. " At last we all came to the root of our Nonconformity, namely pulpit prayers, which discourse was very pertinently begun by Sir William Heywood, who seemed to be a sober, learned, and judicious person, and all condemned the extemporary prayers to be a great feeder of fanaticism." (Denis Granville, " Diary," 27 March, 1683.)

But cf. Bishop Bull, " Charge to the Clergy of his Diocese " : " I am verily persuaded that this is one cause that there are so many sectaries and separatists among us. They find as little reverence and devotion in the use of our common prayers, that they cannot away with them, but run from the church to the conventicle, where they hope to find more devotion."

should be used upon those who objected to kneeling at reception, crossing at baptism, the surplice, bowing at the Holy Name and to the Communion Table.

The bishops' answer was not conciliatory. Indeed it again showed the old fatal inability to understand the Puritan position, and a lack of disposition seriously to attempt compromise. The Puritans' assurance that they were in substantial agreement with the bishops made their objections "less considerable and less reasonable to be stood upon to the hazard of the disturbance and peace of the Church". They pretended not to understand what the demand for a resident minister meant, and refused to strengthen discipline or make Sunday observance more stringent. In particular they refused to admit "that the extent of any diocese is so great but that the bishops may well perform that wherein the proper office and duty of a bishop doth consist". But they agreed in the plea for a revised Prayer Book, and in reference to ceremonies they said, "we are in no way against such tender and religious compassion in things of this nature as his Majesty's piety and wisdom shall think fit to extend".

But the situation was really much more hopeless than it appeared to be. Just as at Hampton Court, so at this conference, the bully was in evidence and Sheldon played the part quite as effectively as Bancroft had done on the former occasion. A man in whose character "spiritual-mindedness was, to say the least, not a conspicuous trait" and who "took a leading part in the persecution of Nonconformists"[1] was not likely to conduce to a peaceful settlement at the Savoy Conference. Indeed

[1] Overton, "Life in the English Church, 1660-1714," p. 20, ed. 1885.

on his own confession he had no wish for an agreement, for afterwards "when the Bill of Uniformity was under the consideration of Parliament (1662) the Duke of Manchester . . . expressed to the King a fear that the provisions of the bill were so rigorous that many ministers would not be able to comply with them. Sheldon, who stood by and heard the remark, at once replied, 'I fear they will,' and the whole of his conduct was in unison with this declaration."[1]

Even the excellent Dr. Peter Gunning, afterwards Bishop of Chichester, who was a prominent divine at the Conference, had been at no pains to understand his Puritan adversaries. In conversation afterwards with Baxter "he vehemently professed that he was sure that

[1] Molesworth, "History of the Church of England," p. 52. Neal adds that Sheldon declared his intention to "make them all knaves if they conform! And when Dr. Allen said, 'it is a pity the door is so strait,' he answered, 'it is no pity at all; if we had thought so many of them would have conformed, we would have made it straiter'." ("History of the Puritans," ed. 1822, Vol. IV, p. 333.) Pepys gives a sidelight on Sheldon's character which gives further proof, if any were needed, of his entire unsuitability for dealing with such a delicate situation. "At noon to dine with the Archbishop at Lambeth, exceeding good cheer, nowhere better or so much: most of the company gone, and I going, I heard by a gentleman of a sermon to be there; and so I staid to hear it thinking it serious; till by and bye, the gentleman told me it was a mockery by one Cornet Bolton, a very gentlemanlike man, that behind a chair did pray and preach like a presbyter Scot, with all the possible imitations in grimaces and voice. And his text about their hanging up their harps upon the willows: and a serious good sermon too, exclaiming against bishops and crying up of my good Lord Eglington till it made us all burst: but I did wonder to have the bishop to make himself sport with things of this kind but I perceive it was shewn him as a rarity; and he took care to have the room-door shut, but there were about twenty gentlemen there, and myself, infinitely pleased with the novelty." ("Diary," 14 May, 1669.)

it was not conscience that kept us from conformity, but merely to keep up our reputation with the people, and that we desired alteration for no other ends, and that we lost nothing by our Nonconformity but were fed as full and lived as much to the pleasures of the flesh in plenty as the conformists did : and he let me know what odious thoughts he had of his poor brethren, upon grounds so notoriously false that I had thought few men in England could have been so ignorant of such matters of fact. . . . The bishop had the less modesty in standing confidently to my face of his certainty of our 'losing nothing by our Nonconformity' when he himself knew that I was offered a bishoprick in 1660, and he got not his bishoprick (for all his extraordinary way of merit) till about 1671 or 1672." [1]

The Conference itself was a failure : the bishops never meant to give way, their star was in the ascendant now and they had no desire to welcome their former persecutors back into the Church. The Puritans on their part were probably aiming still to dominate the Church.[2] Sheldon shrewdly suspected this, and this was partly the reason for his discourteous demand that they should

[1] Baxter, op. cit. Pt. III, pp. 104-5.

[2] Presbyterianism, at any rate, was as uncompromising as the extreme episcopalianism. It claimed exclusive Divine sanction for its system and maintained that "the government of the Church by synods and classes is the government that Christ appointed". This was in 1649. (*Vide* Neal, op. cit. Vol. IV, p. 13.) By 1661 they had learnt to be less uncompromising. "The Scots' Kirk stood to their principles and would have bid defiance to the old clergy but Mr. Calamy, Manton, and Ash, informed them in the name of the London ministers, that the general stream and current being for the old prelacy, in its pomp and height, it was in vain to hope for establishing presbytery, which made them lay aside the thoughts of it and fly to Archbishop Usher's moderate episcopacy." (*Ibid.* pp. 226-7.)

set out at once all their objections and proposals "for they would not engage to treat about any one particular, till they saw how far their demands went: and he said, that all was to be transacted in writing, though the others insisted on an amicable conference; which was at first denied, yet some hopes were given of allowing it at last."[1]

Sheldon's idea was that by making them set out all their objections he might be able to make much of their unreasonableness. Certainly the offering of a new liturgy drawn up by Baxter was not an indication of moderation on the Puritan part, and gave a great handle to Sheldon. Some of the Puritans advised the mention of only the greatest matters "reckoning that if they were gained and a union followed upon that, it would be easier to gain other things afterwards,"[2] but Baxter was too honest to agree to this course. All must be said and the consequences taken.

The conference broke up and no good was done, probably even harm, and the next step was the Act of Uniformity of 1662 and the ejection of the Nonconformists. By this Act the Church of England was to be restored upon its old basis of episcopacy. From 1653-1660 a Church had been established on very loose and comprehensive lines. Presbyterians, Baptists, Independents, were all eligible for preferment provided they, in "the Puritan estimate, had the root of the matter in them". But by the Act of 1662 only those episcopally ordained were allowed to minister and they must use the newly-revised Prayer Book, and before the Feast of St. Bartholomew declare unfeigned consent to that book,

[1] Burnet, "His Own Times," ed. 1838, Bk. II, p. 122.
[2] *Ibid.* op. cit. Bk. II, p. 123.

repudiate the Covenant and renounce the doctrine that arms could ever, under any circumstances, be taken up against the King. The result of this measure was that many of the best and truest-hearted part of the Puritan clergy were excluded from the Church and the worthless contingent who possessed no real convictions included. When we remember what the episcopalians suffered under the Commonwealth this retaliation can be understood, but not excused.

This effect, achieved in the case of the clergy, was also to be brought about among the laity by the Corporation (1661) and Test (1673) Acts. If a Puritan was prepared to play fast and loose with his opinions and receive the Holy Communion according to the Church rites, he was exempt from interference and eligible for advancement. If not he was to be harried, annoyed, fined, and persecuted.[1]

The result of this miserable legislation was that English Puritanism was carefully sifted, and the dross of it retained in the Church to share its benefits with the loyal episcopalians who had suffered in the recent years, and the best and conscientious part driven out into Dissent.

It may be argued that such a result was inevitable. Possibly it was. But what was quite uncalled for were the bitter and cruel enactments which converted Dissenters who differed from episcopalians into jealous enemies and haters of the Church, and which sowed jealousy and even detestation between Churchmen and Dissenters, leaving a heritage even for our own days. This legislation was not necessary on grounds of self-defence; "the Church was utterly beyond the reach of

[1] This legislation was also aimed at the Roman Catholics.

attack . . . if there was no valid plea of self-defence, persecution was pure and simple revenge on the defeated party ".[1] Quite true this legislation was the work of the Parliament, but there is no evidence to show that the Church as a body withstood it, though individual Churchmen in many cases behaved in a way worthy of their Church and creditable to their religious profession.

" The chief blame, it cannot be dissembled, ought to fall on the Churchmen. An opportunity was afforded of healing in a very great measure that schism and separation which, if they are to be believed, is one of the worst evils that can befall a Christian community. They had it in their power to retain, or to expel, a vast number of worthy and laborious ministers of the Gospel, with whom they had, in their own estimation, no essential ground of difference. . . . To judge by the rules of moral wisdom, or of the spirit of Christianity . . . there can be no justification of the Anglican party on this occasion." [2]

Neal maintains that much might have been done to heal divisions had the review of the liturgy in 1662 been more sympathetically carried out,[3] and blames, not the whole body of the clergy, but the dominant spirits

[1] Gwatkin, " Cambridge Modern History," Vol. V, p. 330. " We are astonished, we must confess, that men of our own time, men who have before them the proof of what toleration can effect, men who may see with their own eyes that the Presbyterians are no such monsters when Government is wise enough to let them alone, should defend the persecutions of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as indispensable to the safety of the Church and Throne." (Macaulay, Essay on " Hallam ".)

[2] Hallam, op. cit. Vol. II, p. 336.

[3] " If the Convocation of 1662, in their review of the liturgy, had made any amendments for the satisfaction of the Presbyterians, they would undoubtedly have passed both Houses of Parliament, and healed in some measure the divisions of the Church." (*Ibid.* p. 347.)

"who were tools of a corrupt court and ministry, and who, out of ignorance or other private and personal motives, went blindfold into all their destructive measures".[1]

A feature of the times was the misleading way in which epithets were used with a view to discredit the standpoint of the Puritans. Baxter's complaint against this deliberate misrepresentation deserves notice. "And here you may note by the way the fashion of the times and the state of the Presbyterians; any man that was for a spiritual serious way of worship (tho' he were for moderate episcopacy and liturgy) and that lived according to his profession was commonly called a Presbyterian, as formerly he was called a Puritan, unless he joined himself to Independents, Anabaptists, or some other sect which might afford him a more odious name. And of the lords, he that was for episcopacy and the liturgy, was called a Presbyterian, if he endeavoured to procure an abatement of their impositions, for the reconciling of the parties or the ease of the ministers and people that disliked them. And of the ministers he was called a Presbyterian that was for episcopacy and liturgy if he conformed not so far as to subscribe or swear to the English diocesan frame and all their impositions. I knew not any one lord at court that was a Presbyterian, yet were the Earl of Manchester (a good man) and the Earl of Anglesey and the Lord Hollis called Presbyterians and as such appointed to direct and help them; when I have heard them plead for moderate episcopacy and liturgy myself, and they would have drawn us to yield further than we did.

"And if ever any hereafter shall say that at King Charles II's restoration the Presbyterian cause was

[1] Hallam, op. cit. Vol. II, p. 349.

pleaded. . . I leave it here on record to the notice of posterity that to the best of my knowledge the Presbyterian cause was never spoken for, nor were they ever heard to petition for it at all: for the rest of the ministers that came not to us sat still and said nothing, and for myself I ever professed my judgment to be as for episcopacy, liturgy, etc., as I have expressed in my Fifth Disputation for Church Government, and I drew on this treaty not as Presbyterian but as a reconciler.

"And for Mr. Calamy he pleaded for no more than I did whatever his judgment was; only at the meeting before the King he pleaded well that the words bishops and presbyters are in Scripture of the same signification and that they differ but *gradu* not *ordine* which abundance of episcopal men also hold as did Bishop Usher and even many school men, and other Papists. And as for Dr. Reynolds he was always of Mr. Stillingfleet's mind (as I have heard him profess) that no form of Church government is determined of in the Word of God, but is variable as occasion ariseth. And as for Mr. Ash, tho' he was a Presbyterian, yet that good man being all for holiness and heaven and peace, and being no disputer, he went along with us and spake for no more than we did. Never did we write or speak a word (that I knew of who was always with them) for ruling elders, nor for the government of synods or presbyteries without bishops or stated presidents, nor against liturgy in general, nor against holy days in general, nor against kneeling at the Sacrament (but only against the rejecting those from the Church's Communion who dare not kneel as supposing it idolatrous) nor for any one thing which is proper to presbytery."[1]

[1] Baxter, op. cit., Pt. II, p. 278.

Moderate episcopacy was destined to find a permanent place in the Church, and though "the lower view" of the ministry was looked upon with grave suspicion in certain quarters, it certainly seems in view of present-day knowledge that it could bear the light of history and inquiry better than the exalted view.

To make clear this divergency of opinion in the Church we will place side by side the two attitudes towards episcopacy.

The moderate view first: We quote from an interesting work written in the form of a dialogue between friends.

"*Theophilus.*—To all forms of ecclesiastical government they greatly prefer episcopacy, because it is apparent that so much as is essential to that government did universally take place in the Church presently after the Apostles' times and therefore it is very probable that it was also in their days. . . .

"*Philalethes.*—How much do they or you conceive to be essential to episcopacy and therefore agreeable to the primitive pattern?

"*Theophilus.*—Mr. Chillingworth shall answer you that question. 'If we abstract' (saith he) 'from episcopal government all accidentals and consider only what is essential and necessary to it, we shall find in it no more than this: an appointment of one man of eminent sanctity and sufficiency to have the care of all the Churches within a certain precinct or diocese: and furnishing him with authority (not absolute or arbitrary, but regulated and bounded by laws, and moderated, by joining to him a convenient number of assistants) to the extent that all the Churches under him may be provided of good and able pastors: and that both of pastors and people conformity to laws and performance of their

duties may be required under penalty, not left to discretion, but by law appointed.'"[1]

Another writer, Croft, Bishop of Hereford, says: "Whosoever unbiassed reads the Scripture, thence proceeds to the first Christian writers and so goes on from age to age, can't doubt but that the Church was always governed by bishops, that is, by one leader, or presbyter or president, or what else you please to call him, set over the rest of the clergy with authority to ordain, to exhort, to rebuke, to judge and censure as he found cause. . . . But notwithstanding all this, yet 'tis very much to be doubted whether they were of any distinct superior order from above the presbyters, or one of the same order set over the rest with power to ordain elders, to exhort, rebuke, chastise, as Timothy and Titus were constituted by St. Paul. . . . I pray let any man shew me from Scripture (as I said) Timothy or Titus or anyone ordained twice, made first priest, then bishop, which is absolutely necessary if they be distinct characters. . . . But you will say, the superior order contains in it virtually the inferior order (let this pass at present). Doth presbyter then virtually contain bishop? if so, then all presbyters are bishops. Nay, say you, bishop is the superior order and contains in it presbyter. You say so, but, by your leave, you are to prove so, or give me leave to say otherwise, especially seeing I have Scripture for my saying and you have none for yours. . . . Though in Scripture 'tis not, *in terminis*, said presbytery and episcopacy are both one and the same order, yet the circumstantial expressions are (as I have shewed) so strong and many, that they are equivalent to a clear expression

[1] Fowler, "Free Discourse between Two Intimate Friends," ed, 1670, pp. 322-4.

in terminis. Secondly this is not a matter of any indifferency, but of vast and dangerous consequence . . . for if bishops be of such a superior and distinct order as you pretend, if the power of ordination be inherent in them only, then where no bishop, no true priests ordained; where no priests, no Sacraments; where no Sacraments, no Church. Wherefore I humbly beseech you be not too positive in this point, lest thereby you do not only condemn all the Reformed Churches, but the Scripture and St. Paul also."[1]

Set against this the High Church view as expressed by that most admirable and saintly divine Archbishop Sancroft:—

Preaching on the appointment of Titus by St. Paul (Titus I. 5), he says: "Here we have elders, that is bishops (as shall be shewed in due time) disposed by city by city, in every city one, these bishops both ordained, and ordered, constituted and corrected, created and governed by Titus alone; and so he, in right of the premises, no other than metropolitan or archbishop there; the angel or the archangel rather of the whole Church of Crete." St. Paul has appointed him, and Christ has appointed St. Paul. "So that my text . . . consists, you see, of many links . . . like Jacob's mysterious ladder the foot of it stands below in Bethel, the House of God, the head of it is in Heaven, and God

[1] "The Naked Truth," by an Humble Moderator, ed. 1675, pp. 33, 34, 35, 45. This book created quite a stir. Evelyn in his diary notes: "1676, 20 Feb., Dr. Gunning, Bishop of Ely, preached before the King . . . chiefly against an anonymous booke called 'Naked Truth' a famous and popular treatise against the corruption in the cleargie, but not sound as to its quotations supposed to have been the Bishop of Hereford's and was answered by Dr. Turner, it endeavoring to prove an equality of order of bishop and presbyter."

Himself stands at the top of it and leans upon it and keeps it firm, angels ascending and descending upon it in the intermedial degrees." [1]

The same view is with equal emphasis set out by Beveridge, Bishop of St. Asaph: "Christ called the Apostles, the Apostles by the appointment of the same Christ called others to succeed them, they again others; and so hath there been a succession of lawful ministers ever since. . . . So that none are now lawful ministers but such as are thus called by Him, and all that are thus called by Him are lawful ministers; I mean all such as are called by such as succeed (? precede) them in the ministry who were called immediately from Christ Himself." [2]

The holders of the moderate view were the mainspring of the many schemes for comprehension which formed such an interesting feature of the last third of the seventeenth century both in Scotland and England.

[1] "Occasional Sermons," ed. 1694. Sermon preached at the consecration of seven bishops, pp. 3, 4.

[2] Beveridge on "The Articles," Art. XXIII.

CHAPTER X.

SCOTLAND AND IRELAND.

In Scotland, the Reformation after many checks was consummated in 1560, when in August the Estates or Parliament assented to the petition of the Congregation, i.e. the body of Protestants who sincerely believed the Evangelical Faith, to settle the religious question in accordance with their views.

The Estates requested John Knox and five others to prepare a Confession of Faith, which met with their approval and became the recognized statement of the Scottish reformed faith from 1560 to 1647 in which year "it was displaced by the Westminster Confession . . . only on the understanding that the later document was in nothing contrary to the former; and continued authoritative long after that date".[1]

John Knox, who was the prophet of the Reformation in Scotland, was a striking and most interesting character. We cannot here even briefly note the ups and downs of his tempestuous life. Of his sincerity and courage there cannot be the least doubt. Of his tactlessness there can be equally little. Previous to his adoption of Protestantism he was a papal notary and was in priest's orders.

The Confession of Faith "is more sympathetic and

[1] Lindsay, op. cit. Vol. II, p. 302.

human than most creeds"[1] and "is a clear summary of Christian doctrine grounded on the Word of God. On most essential points it approximates indefinitely near, and in many instances uses the very words of, the Apostles' Creed and the Articles of the Church of England as established by Edward VI."[2]

The second step was to draw up a scheme of Church government, and the work was committed to the same hands. The result was "The First Book of Discipline or the Policie and Discipline of the Church". In addition to laying down a system of Church government this book contained a chapter urging the necessity of safeguarding the wealth of the Church for proper uses. This was distasteful to the Estates, and stood in the way of the book being approved by them in the same way as they had approved the Confession of Faith. "The barons, greater and lesser, who sat there had in too many cases appropriated the 'patrimony of the Kirk' to their own private uses, and were unwilling to sign a document which condemned their conduct." So that it "never received the legal sanction accorded to the Confession".[3] We may note here that the Scottish Reformers claimed and maintained a freedom from State

[1] Lindsay, op. cit. p. 302.

[2] Tytler, *ap.* Rankin, "Handbook of the Church of Scotland," p. 151, who prints much of it in detail.

[3] Lindsay, op. cit. pp. 305-6. Cf. Maccunn, "John Knox," pp. 106-7. "Knox was sanguine indeed when he expected that the wealth which had kept the old Church in idleness and luxury was to be handed over to keep the new in learning and holiness. Even if the Church's wealth had still been unappropriated, it is certain that the greedy and poverty-stricken nobility would have secured their own share before considering the claims of religion. As it was, much of the property had already passed into the hands of laymen."

control to a degree unheard of in England. Indeed Presbyterianism was entirely opposed to Erastianism. Scottish Presbyterianism claimed authority independent entirely of the State, and to this cause as much as to any other may be attributed its failure to obtain a permanent hold in England.

At first Knox's idea of the relation of Church and State seems to have been identical with Calvin's. "The Genevan Church was essentially civic or municipal; its consistory . . . very much like a Committee of a town council."[1] That is, Geneva was a Church State. But by and by Knox modified this ideal, and the Church was regarded rather as a power entirely independent of, and perhaps superior to, the State. But in essential features Presbyterianism in Scotland resembled that elsewhere. "Parity of ministers" was insisted upon and consistently maintained. The superior authority given to the "Superintendent" was not inconsistent with ministerial equality, for his higher power was not innate in himself—as episcopal authority was often regarded—but simply that which he had as the delegated mouthpiece of the aggregate of the clergy he represented. The minister shared the authority of the parish with elders ordained to rule[2] and at short intervals a "Kirk-session" was held in each parish, at which the minister presided, when he in conjunction with his elders dealt with the discipline of the parish. Adjacent parishes were grouped together, and the ministers and elders of these districts met at longer intervals in an assembly called the "Presbytery," when

[1] Maitland, "Cambridge Modern History," Vol. II, p. 593.

[2] "The elders who hold this office are the representatives of the people, yet, as office-bearers discharging the functions of an office, they are not mere delegates of the people." (Macpherson, "Presbyterianism," p. 8.)

a "moderator," elected from the clergy, presided. Every year a "Provincial Synod" met, comprising the ministers and elders of a much wider district. And still a fourth, and final, court was held every third year called the "General Assembly". In this, as well as in the previous two cases, the presiding minister was elected from the clergy and held office only temporarily. The office of deacon was held by men in whose hands was placed the financial business of the Church.

The upholders of this system claimed for it an exclusive Divine Right; just as certain episcopalian extremists made a similar claim for the system they favoured. But leaving aside extravagances of that kind, it was plain that Presbyterianism had a good deal to commend it. It steered a course midway between episcopacy and congregationalism. The former as then practised robbed the laity of all its rights and voice in Church government; the latter went to the other extreme. Presbyterianism claimed, and still claims, to distribute authority in proper proportion between the ministers and laity, "bringing in the one principle to balance the other, so as to secure unity without over-centralization and liberty without anarchy".[1]

A radical departure was made in the "First Book of Discipline" which was corrected in the "Second Book of Discipline" issued in 1578. The laying on of hands in ordination was discontinued; the reason given being as follows: "Other ceremonie than the public approbation of the people and declaration of the chief minister (or of him who presideth on this occasion) that the person there presented is appointed to serve the Church, we cannot approve; for albeit the Apostles used imposition

[1] Macphail, op. cit. p. 137.

of hands, yet, seeing the miracle is ceased, the using of the ceremonie we judge not necessarie".[1]

In determining the question of the validity of Presbyterian orders, this serious departure from primitive practice is frequently adduced as casting grave doubts upon Scottish Presbyterian orders.

Two points in this connexion deserve note. In the first place it is not easy to acquit the theory, that imposition of hands is so vital as to make entirely precarious the validity of any ordination when it is not used, of the charge of being mechanical. To believe that this is the normal method by means of which the Divine grace is imparted, that it is the apostolic method and therefore sanctioned and approved by Divine authority: this is one thing. But to believe that God has so tied Himself to one method as to invalidate all others is quite another thing.

But even more important is it to remember that the evidence by which it is sought to prove that imposition of hands was the invariable custom of apostolic times is by no means conclusive. It is "highly probable," says Hort, "that (as a matter of fact) laying on of hands was largely practised in the ecclesiae of the apostolic age as a rite introductory to ecclesiastical office. But as the New Testament tells us no more than what has been already mentioned, it can hardly be likely that any essential principle was held to be involved in it. It was enough that an ecclesia should in the modern phrase be organized, or in the really clearer apostolic phrase be treated as a body made up of members with a diversity of functions; and that all things should be done decently and in order." [2]

[1] Rankin, op. cit. p. 157.

[2] Hort, "The Christian Ecclesia," ed. 1900, p. 216.

These striking words from such an authority must make us pause before maintaining that even the continuity of orders was broken by this strange departure from the practice of centuries, much less declare those orders invalid by such a departure.

Whilst dealing with this point, it may be useful to note another objection to Presbyterian orders which is often advanced. At the new order of things in Scotland the Presbyterians repudiated, it is urged, the old order. They had no idea of perpetuating the ancient ministry, and certainly not one in which grace was specially imparted to authorize administration of the Sacraments. Whether this was so or not, it is sufficient to point out broadly the dangers of this contention. It is one of those awkward arguments which prove too much. He would be a bold man indeed who would undertake to prove that the majority—perhaps even *any*—of our Reformers believed they were perpetuating a ministry identical with that which existed in the pre-Reformation times.[1] It really comes to the question of intention ultimately, and if we deny the validity of Scottish Presbyterian orders on the ground of defective intention, we call in question our own.

It is, however, quite impossible to avoid regretting that Scotland did not follow the example of England when remodelling her Church, and that instead of con-

[1] Cf. Keble's dangerously frank admission: "Further it is obvious that those divines in particular who had been instrumental . . . in the second change of the Liturgy in King Edward's time, must have felt themselves in some measure restrained from pressing with its entire force the ecclesiastical tradition on Church government and orders, inasmuch as in the aforesaid revision they had given up altogether the same tradition regarding certain very material points in the celebration, if not in the doctrine, of the Eucharist". (Preface to Hooker, p. lxi.)

tinuing episcopacy she should have adopted the Presbyterian system. But Scotland did not stop even here. The Continental reformers, though non-episcopalian, always spoke with respect of that system and regretted that circumstances made them depart from it. But the Scots had no such regrets, and in course of time came to hate episcopacy for its own sake.

The course of events which led up to this result must be briefly noticed. Episcopacy passed through four phases in Scotland.

In the first place the Scottish Protestants with very good reason regarded episcopacy as not only popish but anti-national. They could only go by their own experience and that was sad enough. To a man the bishops opposed reform, to a man they supported the French faction whose avowed object it was to make Scotland a mere appendage to France, and to use her as a convenient base from which to attack Protestant England. It is not then in the least surprising that at first little love was lost between the Scottish Protestants and the Scottish bishops, and that when the reformers were casting round for a method of Church government they should not select episcopacy.

But the second step in degrading the orthodox system in Scottish eyes was taken in 1572 at the Concordat of Leith. Bishops were to be forced upon the Church, and yet it is not strictly correct to speak of them as bishops at all. The prime movers in this scheme were not animated by any love for the system, but they saw in it an excellent way by which they could get hold of the wealth of the Church to increase their incomes and satisfy their own greed. The question to be settled was as follows: the old archbishops, priors, abbots, etc., had been allowed to retain two-thirds of the revenue of their

benefices during their lives. They were now dying off. What was to become of their income? Legally only ecclesiastical persons could touch Church moneys. The Reformed Church claimed it—the nobles coveted it.

The solution was contemptible beyond words. "Bishops" were revived, but they were only bishops in name. They were appointed by the Lords on the understanding that they should fill the office to be able legally to claim the revenue, which revenue they were to hand over to their patrons. These "bishops" were popularly called "Tulchans" from the Gaelic word which signified a calf-skin padded with straw which was sometimes put before a cow to make the milk flow readily.[1] "Mr. Patrick Constan, alias Adamsone, who looked to have been preferred to that bishoprick (i.e. St. Andrews) . . . in his sermon . . . made three sorts of bishops. . . . 'My Lord Bishop,' said he, 'was in time of papistrie; my lord's bishop is now, when my lord getteth the benefice, and the bishop serveth for a portionne out of the benefice, to make my lord's title sure: the Lord's bishop is the true minister of the Gospel.'"[2] This just expresses neatly the attitude of the Scottish mind at the

[1] "These bishops were called Tulchan bishops. A Tulchan is a calf's skin stuffed with straw, to caus the kow give milke. For the Lords got the benefices, and presented such a man as would be content with the least commoditie, and sett the rest in fewes, tacks, pensions, to them or theirs." (Calderwood, "History of the Kirk of Scotland," ed. 1843, Vol. III, pp. 207, 208.) "*From that moment* episcopacy was a doomed institution in Scotland. . . . It soon became the earnest belief of all who were truthful and independent in the nation that the Presbyterian system was the one Divinely-appointed mode of Church government from which it was sinful to deviate in the slightest degree." (Gardiner, "History of England," Vol. I, p. 491.)

[2] Calderwood, op. cit. Vol. III, p. 206.

time towards episcopacy. The injustice of the criticism is patent, but at the same time a sympathetic study of the Scottish experience of the episcopal system compels us to admit they had much excuse for their bitterness.

Their third experience was equally unhappy.

Despite King James VI's sanctimonious declaration of his love for "the sincerest Kirk in the world" and his dislike of "papistical and Anglican bishops," [1] in 1610 he determined to force episcopacy on the Scottish Church. Three bishops were consecrated in England on 21 October, Spottiswood, Lamb, and Hamilton, and on their arrival in Scotland they proceeded to consecrate ten others. The consecration of these three deserves special attention, for apparently a dispute of singular interest took place on the occasion. Spottiswood and his two colleagues had been ordained only by the Presbyterian rite. What would be the line of procedure? Andrewes at once raised the crucial question. "A question was moved by Dr. Andrewes, Bishop of Ely, touching the consecration of the Scottish bishops, who, as he said, 'must first be ordained presbyters as having received no ordination from a bishop'. The Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Bancroft, who was by, maintained, 'that thereof there was no necessity, seeing where bishops could not be had, the ordination given by presbyters must be esteemed lawful, otherwise that it might be doubted, if there were any lawful vocation in most of the Reformed Churches'. This applauded to by the other bishops, Ely acquiesced." [2]

This by itself is plain enough and can only mean one thing; viz. the general agreement of the bishops

[1] *Vide supra*, p. 111.

[2] Spottiswood, "History of the Church and State of Scotland," ed. 1677, p. 514.

on the question of the validity of Presbyterian orders. Perhaps the most striking point is that Bancroft should appear as the champion of the Presbyterians! Another version of the story is given by Heylin[1] who declares that Bancroft's argument was that consecration to the episcopate *per saltum* was the course to be taken. But Heylin must always, owing to his party spirit, be read with caution.[2] In the first place consecration *per saltum* was entirely without precedent in the English Church and would be in itself a very striking departure from custom, and secondly, Spottiswood, as an eyewitness of the occurrence and himself personally concerned, would be much more likely to give the correct version.

The King's act was bitterly resented by the Scots. As a Scotsman he should have known he was doing violence to the two most characteristic features of the Scottish nature—independence and nationality. The former was obviously outraged, the latter equally so, for Presbyterianism matched the Scottish nature exactly, and they had entirely taken it to themselves as their very own.

Charles I did even worse. Laud had declared that "there can be no Church without diocesan bishops" and that "the Presbyterians are as bad as the Papists". But even he was not satisfied with the achievement of forcing bishops upon an unwilling people. His opinion was "that unity cannot long continue in the Church,

[1] "History of Presbyterianism," ed. 1670, pp. 387-8. Neal ascribes to Abbot the view that the ordination to the episcopate was to be *per saltum*. ("History of Puritans," II, p. 76.) But Collier, op. cit. Vol. II, p. 702, ascribes Abbot's opinion to Bancroft.

[2] "A goodly author! of whom two learned bishops say . . . that he was so bent on his own way, that he could not be an impartial historian." (Preface to "Lancashire Levite Rebuked," ed. 1698.)

where uniformity is shut out of the Church door". Therefore to attain his ideal the Scottish Church must be modelled upon the English pattern. In 1633 Charles went to Scotland accompanied by Laud, then Bishop of London. "Everything seemed to be done which was likely to arouse Scotch prejudices against episcopal orders and the English Liturgy. Instead of reducing the Anglican ceremonies to as simple a form as possible, the most elaborate pomp of worship appeared in Holyrood chapel." He took with him "twenty-six musical gentlemen of the Royal Chapel at Whitehall with their goods and paraphernalia to perform the cathedral service, so as to impress the Presbyterians of Edinburgh".[1]

The crass folly of such an act is obvious. Anyone with the least knowledge of the Scottish temperament could have foreseen the reception that Laud's liturgy would be likely to meet with when imposed in 1637. The country was ablaze at once. At the Glasgow Assembly in 1638 the Presbyterians took the law into their own hands. The book of Canons and the Service Book were abjured and condemned, and the bishops deposed. "The sittings ended on 20 December, the last words of the Moderator's address being: 'We have now cast down the walls of Jericho; let him that rebuildeth them beware of the curse of Hiel, the Bethelite'."[2]

The fourth and last experience of episcopacy in the Scottish National Church was perhaps the worst of all. The method adopted and the men chosen, with one

[1] Stoughton, op. cit. pp. 102-3.
[2] Rankin, op. cit. p. 190.

striking exception, being the worst possible to commend the system to the Scottish mind.

In 1661 Charles II undertook the task in which his father and grandfather had failed. Four bishops were chosen for Scotland. Two of them, Leighton and Sharp, had received only Presbyterian orders.

The latter came to England to represent the interests of the Presbyterians and performed his duty by betraying those interests and scheming to secure the Archbishopric of St. Andrews. He was an entirely contemptible character, and his miserable end—assassination in 1679—is proof enough of the feelings he inspired in his flock.

Leighton, on the other hand, was a man of the saintliest character. He was a profound scholar, and impressed all who came near him by his excellent qualities. He was the son of Alexander Leighton, a Presbyterian, who had suffered at the hands of the Star Chamber for publishing a scurrilous work entitled "Zion's Plea against Prelacy". His son, Robert, was minister of Newbattle, and afterwards principal of Edinburgh College. He was a close friend of Gilbert Burnet, whose testimony to his worth is deserving of mention. "He had the greatest command of the purest Latin that I ever knew in any man. He was a master both of Greek and Hebrew, and of the whole compass of theological learning, chiefly in the study of the Scriptures. But that which excelled all the rest was he was possessed with the highest and noblest sense of Divine things that I ever saw in any man. . . . He had so subdued the natural heat of his temper, that in a great variety of accidents, and in a course of twenty-two years' intimate conversation with him, I never observed the least sign of passion, but upon one single occasion. . . . I bear

still the greatest veneration for the memory of that man, that I do for any person, and reckon my early knowledge of him . . . among the greatest blessings of my life, and for which I know I must give an account to God in the great day in a most particular manner." [1]

But Leighton was a jewel on a rubbish heap. "It needs all the saintliness of Leighton to redeem the name of Scottish bishops in the days of the Stuarts from utter execration." [2]

Another of his colleagues, Fairfowl, so little understood the requirements of his office, that when Leighton spoke to him of his darling scheme for the restoration of episcopacy in the hearts of the Scots, "he was only met with a joke or humorous story".[3]

A fatal blunder was made at the consecration of Sharp and Leighton, which still further handicapped them in their already nearly impossible task. Sheldon, Bishop of London, insisted on their re-ordination as deacon and priest as a preliminary to consecration.[4] Leighton made little demur. He maintained that he was not casting any aspersions upon his former orders, and that the "re-ordaining a priest ordained in another Church imported no more but that they received him into orders according to their rules and did not infer the annulling the orders he had formerly received".[5]

But, whatever Leighton might think or say, the Scots both thought and said differently. He had aspersed the

[1] "His Own Times," pp. 89 and 91.

[2] "Life and Remains of Dr. Robert Lee," ed. 1870, Vol. II, pp. 109 and 110.

[3] Butler, "Life and Letters of Robert Leighton," p. 334.

[4] This disposes of Heylin's version of the 1610 incident, for there was every inducement in 1661 to follow such a recent precedent if in 1610 it had been a recognized case of consecration *per saltum*.

[5] Burnet, op. cit. p. 92.

faith of his childhood and so prejudiced himself in their eyes.

As Bishop of Dunblane, the smallest and most poorly paid of the Scottish sees, he went to Scotland with the intentions of the peacemaker. Later on, in 1672, he became Archbishop of Glasgow.

His scheme of "accommodation," as it was called, was based upon Usher's "Reduction". "Although the concessions, to which he was prepared to proceed, went near to vacate the episcopal office, yet he thought them justified by the improbability of their permanence; for he counted that when the present race of untamable zealots was laid in the grave, and an era of peace had allowed scope for a revival of good sense and charity, there would be a readiness on the part of the people to re-invest the bishop with such prerogative as he had been unreasonably compelled to sacrifice at the shrine of religious concord."[1]

Burnet[2] reports his concessions much as follows: Church government should be in the hands of bishops and clergy mixing together in the judicatories, in which the bishop should be a kind of permanent moderator, and the decisions rest with a majority of the presbyters. The bishop must not claim a veto. The clergy might declare that they sat down under his presidency merely for peace' sake and were allowed a mental reservation as to his superiority. Ordinands might declare that a bishop was only the head of the presbyters. Provincial synods should sit in course every third year or even oftener.

Conferences were held at which Leighton and Burnet pleaded and coaxed and argued, but all to no effect. The

[1] Pearson, "Life of Leighton," p. 73, Preface to Works, ed. 1825.
[2] Op. cit. p. 186.

Covenanters declared that they forbad "a hoof, or so much as a hair of the Scottish model to be altered".[1]

The clergy who would not submit to the bishops, to Leighton's great distress, were ejected from their benefices and their places taken by bad substitutes. Burnet declares "they were generally very mean and despicable in all respects, the worst preachers I ever heard. . . . They were a disgrace to their order, and were indeed the dregs and refuse of the northern parts. . . . This was the fatal beginning of restoring episcopacy in Scotland, of which few of the bishops seemed to have any sense."

The Covenanters retained the love of the people: hatred of episcopacy was merely intensified. "The tombs of the Covenanters are to the Scottish Church what the catacombs are to the early Christian Church."[2]

It was a case of a last chance being utterly thrown away. "Had the bishops been after Leighton's mind, and had they been guided by his conciliatory attitude in Church and State, episcopacy *on the basis of Usher's Reduction* might have been carried."[3] But it was simply the repetition of the same fatal blunder which had been made in England. The episcopal office had been entrusted to unsuitable men, who, with some notable exceptions, valued their sacred office less than their own personal dignity; men with little foresight and less knowledge of their fellow-creatures, who did not hesitate to so bully and persecute as to make the very name of bishop odious in the ears of free and independent people.

Heart-sick and weary, Leighton laid down his work

[1] Leighton might be willing to make these concessions, but what of his successors! Indeed the Covenanters knew full well that even then he was the only one of the bishops who would concede these points.

[2] Stanley, "Church of Scotland," ed. 1879, p. 82.

[3] Butler, op. cit. p. 351.

and retired into private life, in which he lived for ten years before his death.

Anyone with a reverence for antiquity and real belief in the sanctity of the episcopal office and in its intrinsic value must deeply lament the disastrous consequences; but to condemn the Scots, to deny them the status of a true Church, to question the validity of their Sacraments —this course of conduct must be reserved to those whose views of the episcopal office have prejudiced their sound judgment.

No true-hearted people will submit to slavery of any kind, least of all to spiritual bondage, and last of all nations the Scots. Episcopacy was so presented to them as to appear the equivalent of spiritual slavery; Presbyterianism stood to them in the place of freedom.

"It was very possible that episcopacy might be of apostolical institution; but for this institution houses had been burned and fields laid waste, and the Gospel had been preached in the wilderness, and its ministers had been shot in their prayers, and husbands had been murdered before their wives, and virgins had been defiled, and many had died by the executioner and by massacre and imprisonment, and in exile and in slavery, and women had been tied to stakes on the seashore till the tide rose to overflow them, and some had been tortured and mutilated. It was a religion of the boot and the thumb-screw, which a good man must be very cold-blooded indeed, if he did not hate and reject from the hands that offered it. For, after all, it is much more certain that the Supreme Being abhors cruelty and persecution, than that He has set up bishops to have a superiority over presbyters."[1]

[1] Hallam, "History of England," ed. 1855, Vol. III, p. 334.

Before leaving the consideration of Scottish affairs one most important point deserves notice. What was the attitude taken by the Scottish bishops in reference to the Sacraments administered by, and the orders of, the Presbyterian clergy? In the first place little, if any, mention of Confirmation is to be found in the whole dispute. Certainly the bishops never insisted upon it as a condition of Communion. As a matter of fact, the people generally were absent from the Sacrament when administered by the episcopal clergy, so much so that Leighton wrote, "we are like to lose the sacred bond of love and seal of our Christian religion in this country, the Holy Eucharist". It is almost needless to say that no suggestion was made as to the invalidity of Presbyterian Sacraments.

But the following statement made by Leighton is even more interesting because of its absolute definiteness on the matter of Presbyterian orders. "Neither is there anything of power which the bishops claim able to prove them a distinct office more than a constant moderator and visitor will amount to: for though no ordinations may pass without a bishop, that is only in regard to the exercise of that power, but doth not stop the presbyters simply of the power, or say their ordination without a bishop is null: *since the bishops in Scotland do not attempt re-ordination of those whom presbytery had ordained.*"[1]

This course was taken by all the Scottish bishops except Wishart of Edinburgh, although they did re-ordain those who wished for it.[2]

The problem of dealing with Presbyterian incumbents faced the Irish bishops too at this time. But we must

[1] Butler, op. cit. p. 428.

[2] Crookshank, "History of the Church of Scotland," I, p. 126.

first very briefly draw attention to the circumstances which led up to this situation.

When Henry VIII repudiated the Pope's authority within his kingdom, the Irish chieftains supported him, and in 1541 the Irish Parliament passed an act constituting him King, instead of Lord, of Ireland, and he was so proclaimed in St. Patrick's Cathedral in the presence of seven bishops and a number of nobles. But Ireland was far removed from the main stream of thought and action, and it was not till Elizabeth's time that things began to move forward. The Irish were quite willing in the main to move with the times. "Had the Irish persisted in the path entered upon in the early stages of the (Reformation) dispute, they would, like the neighbouring nations, have arrived at the goal of separation from Rome."[1] When called upon to conform to the new requirements only two of their bishops, Welsh, of Meath, and Leverous, of Kildare, declined and, in consequence, forfeited their sees.

All was propitious so far, but the same incredible stupidity which marked the English policy towards the Scots was conspicuous in this case. The national spirit of the Irish was neglected, even trampled on. It was not till 1608 that the Prayer Book was issued in the native tongue; the New Testament in Irish having preceded by four years this shamefully belated effort. So that throughout Elizabeth's reign the Irish were without Testament or Prayer Book in their own language.

The result was that the proud national spirit was outraged, and the Roman mission, which soon began to appoint opposition bishops, found it easy work to poison

[1] O'Connor, "Elizabethan Ireland," p. 180.

the minds of the native Irish against Protestantism, as the religion of the English invader.

The Irishman's national pride was consequently exploited by the Roman Church to embroil him with England and prejudice him against the Irish Church.

The Roman plottings came to a head in the O'Neill revolt, preceded by the hideous massacre of the Protestants, resulting in the sweeping away almost entirely of the Irish episcopal clergy. Large drafts of Scottish troops were sent over under Major-General Robert Munro, in April, 1642, to quell the rebellion. But they failed to do so entirely. The Scots already settled in Ulster were really Presbyterians, though they had conformed to the English ritual under pressure from Strafford. But with this large influx of strong Presbyterians, they were encouraged to return to their original system, and Presbyterianism began to grow and thrive in Ireland. Their position, however, became very difficult, for they found themselves unable to approve of the execution of Charles I and they voiced their protest from Belfast, in February, 1649.[1] No less a person than Milton was employed to attack them with his pen, and this he did in the coarsest and most immoderate way. They were ordered by Cromwell to sign the Engagement disowning Charles II's title to the throne, and many who refused on conscientious grounds were compelled to leave Ireland, though some were bold enough to remain. The Roman Catholic rebellion was crushed by Cromwell in the most ferocious way. His visit of revenge to Ireland had at least two evil results. He soaked the Emerald Isle with Irish blood, sowing a hatred of England in Irish hearts which, till recently, showed no signs

[1] Kinnell, " Ecclesiastical History of Ireland," Vol. II, pp. 104 ff.

of abating; and, secondly, he filled the benefices of the episcopal clergy with most bigoted and zealous adherents of the Commonwealth and the Covenant. So that when, on 27 January, 1661, Bramhall consecrated twelve bishops for Ireland, these bishops found themselves in the position of having to govern a Church and clergy almost entirely Presbyterian.

We can only note two or three of the broad facts.

One of these bishops was Jeremy Taylor, the author of "The Liberty of Prophesying". In this work, written during the ascendancy of the anti-episcopalians, he showed a surprising liberality and generosity. He would like to see inter-communion between all Christian Churches who hold the Apostles' Creed, which he regards as an elaboration of Romans x, 9. In the concluding chapter, however, he writes his regrets as to the impracticability of his theory. "But this thing will scarce be reduced to practice: for few Churches that have framed bodies of confession and articles, will endure any person that is not of the same confession: which is a plain demonstration, that such bodies of confession and articles do much hurt, by becoming instruments of separating and dividing communion, and making unnecessary or uncertain propositions a certain means of schism and disunion." [1]

This clearly is written in a very different spirit from his earlier work on episcopacy. It is not easy to estimate correctly his policy in Ireland. The accounts are very conflicting. In his three dioceses Presbyterianism was not only rampant, but it was of a peculiarly bigoted and uncompromising type. One authority tells us: "the nobility

[1] "Liberty of Prophesying," whole works of Taylor, 1822 ed., Vol. VIII, p. 230.

and gentry of the three dioceses with one single exception came over to the bishop's side; and we are even assured by Carte,[1] that during the two years which intervened before the enforcement of the Act of Uniformity, the great majority of the ministers themselves had yielded, if not to his arguments, to his persevering kindness and Christian example." [2]

Another, but very partisan authority, speaks of his "persevering assiduity," "the wisdom and gentleness of his personal deportment," and his "happy success".[3]

But on the other hand another says: "it is melancholy to have to record that even Bramhall, who was called 'the Irish Laud,' did not contrive to vex the souls of the Presbyterian ministers so much as did the author of the 'Liberty of Prophesying'". And again: "He had pleased nobody; his flock were persuaded that he was cruel and unjust, and the Government regarded him as dangerous and embarrassing".[4]

The truth appears to be that to a man of his nervous and sensitive nature, under such circumstances only two attitudes were possible: cowardice or harshness. He had tried to reason, but plainly there was no ground upon which debate could be conducted. The author of "Episcopacy by Divine Right Asserted" could not possibly compromise with Presbyterians who answered him that they believed Presbyterianism to be *jure divino;* nor could they compromise with him. Finally he ejected thirty-eight ministers; impossible persons who had "pledged themselves to speak with no bishop,

[1] In his "Life of the Duke of Ormonde".

[2] Heber, "Life of Jeremy Taylor," ed. 1822, p. 104.

[3] Mant, "History of the Church of Ireland," ed. 1840, Vol. I, p. 626.

[4] Gosse, "Jeremy Taylor," ed. 1904, pp. 175-6, and 203.

and to endure neither their government nor their persons".

But though seemingly inconsistent with the spirit of the "Liberty of Prophesying" in the severity of his treatment of the nonconforming ministers, he was entirely faithful to it in his dealings with the laity. No evidence is forthcoming that he required Confirmation as indispensable to Communion. Apparently he would have liked to see intercommunion between different Churches on a very wide scale.[1] The work in which he advocated this was written in the dark days of the Church's history, and no doubt "it would have been more valuable had it been produced when the Church was a persecutor instead of when she was persecuted";[2] but for all that it is hard to believe that a man of Taylor's beauty of soul really was insincere in his opinions. It was one thing to tolerate defective principles in other Churches and even allow free intercommunion with them, but it would be too much to expect a man of his views to allow those defective principles to be openly taught in his own Church, especially when we remember that their advocates claimed superiority and exclusive Divine sanction. Such probably is the explanation of the apparent discrepancy between his writings and actions towards the Presbyterian ministers in the Church. This tolerance, combined with general disgust at the unreasonableness of the Presbyterian

[1] "As for the duty of particular men in the question of communicating with Churches of different persuasions, it is to be regulated according to the laws of these Churches. For if they require no impiety or anything unlawful as the condition of their communion, then they communicate with them as they are the servants of Christ" ("Liberty of Prophesying," chap. XXII. § 1).

[2] Worley, "Jeremy Taylor," p. 98.

ministers, resulted in his entire capture of "the nobility and gentry" as well as in a large measure of the laity in general.

Probably Taylor would have been more tolerant of Presbyterian orders if left to himself, but Bramhall, the Primate, was an extremist, and moreover the Act of Uniformity legally compelled the Irish bishops to draw the cords of discipline tight.

The Primate's views deserve mention. He was a typical High Church prelate of the school of Andrewes and Cosin, but though he had such high views of the episcopal office, though he had all the authority of the law behind him, yet his acts and words are conspicuously cautious. During the dark days of the Church's persecution he was satisfied to lay down as a principle that the historic system of Church government was the "*via tutissima*". "I do not make this way to be simply necessary, but only show what is safest." . . . "I know there is a great difference between a valid and a regular ordination . . . for my part I am apt to believe that God looks upon His people in mercy with all their prejudices; and that there is a great latitude left to particular Churches in the constitution of their ecclesiastical regimen, according to the exigence of time and place and persons, so as order and His own constitution be observed."[1] Speaking for the "episcopal divines in England," he denies that they "unchurch" the non-episcopalians of the Continent. Those who so represented them erred because they did not distinguish "between the true nature and essence of a Church which we do readily grant them, and the integrity or

[1] Bramhall's "Serpent-Salve," A.C.L. ed., Vol. III, pp. 475 and 476.

perfection of a Church, which we cannot grant them without swerving from the judgment of the Catholic Church".[1]

Indeed it seems that Bramhall's objections to the reformed ministry was based upon the novelty of government by a body of elders, and not upon the absence of bishops episcopally ordained. He appears to have considered that government by one individual, even if he were not episcopally ordained, was adequate conformity to the ancient method, for of the Lutheran Churches "in High Germany," he writes, "all these have their bishops or superintendents which is all one".[2]

But like the typical High Churchmen of his time, Bramhall made the usual distinction between non-episcopalians at home and abroad, and so it is no matter for surprise to find him at once exerting himself to bring the Irish Presbyterians into line. His answer to the Presbyterians' question as to their ministry has a distinct flavour of Erastianism. "I dispute not the validity of your ordination, nor those acts you have exercised by virtue of it, what you are or might do here when there was no law, or in other Churches abroad; but we are now to consider ourselves a National Church, limited by law, which, among other things, takes chief cause to prescribe about ordination."[3]

He was a severe and strict disciplinarian and, judging

[1] Bramhall's "Vindication," A.C.L. ed., Vol. III, p. 518.

[2] Bramhall's "Serpent-Salve," p. 480, cf. also Durel, "View of Reformed Churches beyond the Seas," p. 7, ed. 1662. "Let no man tell me here that these superintendents are not bishops. . . . They have all that which is essential to the function of true bishops, viz. the power of ordination and jurisdiction." Joseph Hall: "What difference is here . . . but that good Greek is turned into ill Latin". ("Works," Vol. IX, p. 621.)

[3] Kennet's "Register and Chronicle," ed. 1728, Vol. I, p. 441.

from what we can gather as to the state of the Irish Church, a firm control was essential. Some of the Presbyterian clergy wished to be reconciled to the approved form of Church government, and we have interesting evidence as to Bramhall's method of accomplishing this. Some Scottish presbyters wishing to conform to the law were re-ordained conditionally by the Primate, and in the letters of orders given them these words were inserted: "non annihilantes priores ordines (si quos habuit) nec invaliditatem eorundem determinantes, multo minus omnes ordines sacros ecclesiarum forinsecarum condemnantes (quos proprio Judici relinquimus) sed solummodo supplentes quicquid prius defuit per canones Ecclesiae Anglicanae requisitum". It is not clear from these words what Bramhall's "re-ordination" really imported. Modern writers deny that it was a "conditional re-ordination,"[1] though the words in the letters of orders distinctly suggest that. It is perfectly certain, however, that his action was commonly so understood at his own time, for he was constantly spoken of as having supplied a precedent for receiving Presbyterian ministers into the Church by some such conditional ceremony. The propounders of the Comprehension Scheme of 1689 appealed to the example he set as the authority for their suggestion.

[1] *Vide* A.C.L., "Bramhall's Works," Vol. I, p. xxxvii. Blaxland, op. cit. pp. 226-7. Haddon, "Apostolic Succession in the Church of England," p. 165.

CHAPTER XI.

RELATIONS BETWEEN CHURCHMEN AND DISSENTERS.

What were the actual relations between Church and Dissent during this period?

It is a large question and depends upon the particular type of Churchman or Dissenter concerned. Sufficient has already been said as to the general opinions expressed concerning non-episcopal ordinations. But an almost equally important question remains. Were the Nonconformists regarded as having any portion in the National Church? Did they so regard themselves or did they consider they had relinquished all claim upon it? It is to this question we must now apply ourselves.

It will be remembered that the Restoration was conspicuous for the passing of the persecuting laws of Lord Clarendon's *régime*.

The Corporation and Test Acts, insisting upon attendance at Holy Communion as a passport to office, clearly show that so far as the State was concerned the Dissenter was not regarded as having forfeited his right to the services of the Church. The question of occasional conformity will require consideration later on, but this point deserves careful notice. It is perfectly clear that the State regarded the Dissenter, both Protestant and Roman, as fully entitled to communicate in his parish church, and even brought the severest pressure upon him to require him to do so.

Unfortunately it cannot be urged that the Church as a body showed any aversion from this irreverent and disgraceful legislation; for instance, in 1674 we find Archbishop Sheldon issuing a circular letter to the bishops of his province requiring information from the churchwardens on three points, the third of which was: "What number of other Dissenters" (i.e. beyond the Romanists) "are there in each parish, of what sect soever, which either obstinately refuse, or wholly absent themselves from, the Communion of the Church of England, at such times as by law they are required?"[1]

In 1689 an attempt was made in Parliament to at any rate modify the scandal of making attendance at the Sacrament a condition of holding a public office. The object of the attempt was "to prevent the receiving of the Lord's Supper upon any other account, than in obedience to the holy institution thereof; and to provide that any man should be sufficiently qualified for any office . . . who within a year before or after his admission . . . thereinto, did receive the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, either according to the usage of the Church of England, or in any other Protestant congregation, and could produce a certificate under the hands of the minister, or two other credible witnesses, members of such a Protestant congregation".[2]

But it was rejected by a large majority.

From the fact that this bill was rejected, it certainly looks as if the feeling of religious jealousy was stronger in Churchmen than of dislike for the profanation of the Sacrament. Here was an easy way of guarding the Holy Communion from desecration by time-servers, but

[1] Neal, "History of Puritans," ed. 1882, Vol. IV, p. 429.
[2] Birch, op. cit. p. 158.

rather than recognize Dissent in this very moderate way they preferred to leave the scandal standing.

Exactly the same temper was shown in 1709. An act was passed in this year to naturalize foreign Protestants, the conditions required being the taking of the oaths of allegiance to the Government and receiving the Communion in any Protestant church. Immediately there was an outcry, and the opposers of the measure sought to make the only qualifying Communion that of the National Church. All the scruples about degrading Church Sacraments were cast to the winds immediately any measure of recognition of Nonconformity was suggested. "All those who appeared for this large and comprehensive way, were reproached for their coldness and indifference in the concerns of the Church . . . the Bishop of Chester spoke . . . zealously against it, for he was resolved to distinguish himself as a zealot for that which was called High Church." [1]

Even Archbishop Sharp, who was not altogether unfriendly to the Dissenters, was against the Naturalization Bill. "He voted against the commitment of it, 15 March, and spoke (as did also the Bishops of Carlisle and Chester) for the alteration of that claim. . . . They would have had it inserted 'in any parish church' but it was carried against them. There were seven bishops more with them and six against them." [2]

Some of the more reverent spirits were shocked at, and protested against, making the Holy Communion a "pick-lock to a place," but it is not easy to find anyone denying the right of the Dissenter to come.[3] Quite the

[1] Burnet, op. cit. p. 839.

[2] "Life of Archbishop Sharp" by his son, ed. 1825, p. 357.

[3] Though it must be remembered that so-called Churchmen misused the Sacrament as much as, if not more than, Dissenters. Cf.

reverse; the literature of the time is full of exhortations to them pleading and imploring them to enjoy their inheritance. Even more striking is the scanty mention of Confirmation. It is hard, if not impossible, to find a single instance of Confirmation being insisted upon as a preliminary before admission of Dissenters to Holy Communion. The negative argument must not be pressed too far, but it is sufficiently striking. The rite was shamefully neglected by clergy and people. "Dioceses were so vast that a bishop could not perform this and other offices for a hundredth part of his flock. Not one in a hundred was confirmed at all; and often the sacred rite wore the appearance of 'a running ceremony' and 'a game for boys'."[1]

There was, however, in the Church a very considerable section who made no secret whatever of their friendly feelings towards the Dissenters. Many of them were

the following: "I was early with the Secretary (Bolingbroke), but he was gone to his devotions and to receive the Sacrament. Several rakes did the same. It was not for piety but for employment according to Act of Parliament". ("Swift to Stella," *ap.* Abbey, "English Church and its Bishops," Vol. I, pp. 19-20.)

[1] Abbey and Overton, "English Church in the Eighteenth Century," p. 470. Curiously enough we find in Gilbert Burnet, the Latitudinarian, a bishop who was most exemplary in this respect. After carefully instructing and catechizing the candidates himself for a whole week, "on Sunday, he confirmed those who had been thus examined and instructed, and then, inviting them all to dine with him, he gave to each a useful present of books". ("Life of Burnet," by his son.) Even such an excellent prelate as Bishop Bull could not do his duty by the greater part of his huge diocese. "Though he was hindered from administering this Holy Rite of Confirmation throughout his large diocese, yet where he resided, and in the neighbourhood of such places, he was not wanting in affording opportunities of receiving it, to all such as were disposed to receive them." (Nelson's "Life of Bull," ed. 1714, p. 423.)

men of great eminence and learning. They were chiefly responsible for the comprehension schemes, but though they were soon to be advanced to high positions in the Church they never led the Church with them.

These Moderate Churchmen were in an awkward position. The Dissenters could not understand them; the High Churchmen hated and vilified them.

The former regarded the Moderate man with grave suspicion and frequently bitterly reproached him. "What say some? Come let us rather conform to the ceremonies than lose our liberties; rather let us bow at the name of Jesus, than lose all for the sake of Jesus; it is better to baptize with the cross than bear the cross; and to wear a surplice than pinch our carcase. Thus many (it is to be feared) destroy their consciences to keep their places."[1]

But the Moderate had harder words cast at him by his fellow-Churchmen. "Grindalizers" and "Trimmers" were very popular terms of reproach.

The following is but a sample of the light in which he was regarded by Churchmen of other schools of thought:—

"The Moderate man then is one who is very loose in his principles, but looser in his conscience; who casts a very favourable eye on the schism, but carries an ill-aspect towards the Church of which he is, or pretends to be, a member; who enters into the Church because there is something to be got by it, and at the same time hates the constitution and would be glad to lend his helping hand to destroy it; who subscribes and swears to, the Articles, Canons, Homilies, and,

[1] Fowler, "Free Discourse between Two Intimate Friends," 1670, p. 30.

even in the very article of subscribing and swearing, approves very little of the matter and in most things believes the direct contrary . . . who recites the Creeds and interprets them heretically; who writes upon the Articles, and explains them schismatically;[1] one who is so very moderate that he cannot see the plainest things in the world, can see no excellency in the Church, no schism in the schismaticks . . . I had much rather be a sincere Turk or Jew, than such an hypocritical Christian."[2]

Another says:—

"We have a sort of men who are neither for liturgy nor directory, canon nor covenant, part Churchmen and part schismatical; having one leg for a tub, and another for a pulpit; one hand subscribing to separate worship and the other to the Church of England. . . . He is your only man of moderate principles whose conscience is a composition of five precious ingredients, the pride of Diotrephes, the interest of Demas, the treachery of Judas, the hypocrisy of the Pharisees, and the disobedience of devils. . . . These are your blessed episcopal Covenanters, canonical comprehenders, clergy-merchants, and regular renegadoes. . . . Their religion consists in the overthrow of Church discipline and government; and their moderation is a wilful omission of the rites and offices of the Church of England."[3]

Yet another says: these "Grindalizers and half-con-

[1] This was probably a hit at Burnet, whose work on the Articles found much disfavour in many quarters.

[2] "The Case of Moderation and Occasional Communion represented by way of Caution to the True Sons of the Church of England," 1705, p. 20.

[3] From a sermon by Gould at a visitation at Exeter, 1682.

formists threaten little less to the danger and dishonour of the Church than the open and professed Nonconformists". Another equally amiable critic writes: "What heterodox paradoxes are they compelled to cram down their throats and swear and forswear the same thing to serve their bellies".[1]

Now whatever might be said against the Moderate Churchman, one would have thought anyone with any love for his Church would have considered there were Dissenters enough, and connived at the remissness of the Moderate. But not so; the High Churchman would gladly have seen the Church purged from these undesirables, and did his best to make the Latitudinarians'[2] position intolerable. One of them complains of this misunderstanding in an anonymous work: "As if the justices had not work enough to do in conventicles, Moderate Conformists, under a reverend name of Grindalizers, from the most reverend Archbishop Grindal, and more odious marks, are falsely represented, and accused as dangerous to the government. . . . We have conformed, and if there be not Nonconformists too many already made and ejected, they may take counsel, and continue to make many more."[3]

But certainly the Moderate, or Low, Churchmen did number some very extreme men among them. They married without using the ring, baptized without crossing, and did not insist upon sponsors; they did not enforce kneeling at reception, nor were they particular

[1] Hart, "Preservative against Comprehension," ed. 1718, p. 14.

[2] The terms "moderate" and "latitudinarian" are not quite synonymous. The former showed their liberalism essentially in practice, the latter more in their theology, sometimes even stepping over the line of orthodoxy.

[3] Ep. ded. to "Moderation a Vertue," 1683.

always about wearing the surplice.[1] It would, however, be more fair to hear one of them describe his party.

"The Moderate Churchman is one that loves his God and his religion, his King and his country. He shuns the dangerous extremes, and keeps the mean of Christian moderation; neither causeth schisms in the Church nor factions in the State. He is neither fond of needless ritualities nor yet molested with groundless scruples. He takes more pains to make good his Baptismal Covenant, than to wrangle about the mode of its administration, as if he were baptized with the Waters of Strife. Whether the chief ecclesiastical officer be called a bishop or a presbyter; or the Communion Board a 'table' or an 'altar,' he is not so much concerned as to disturb the peace of the Church about it. He is a true catholic Christian, neither papist nor separatist, and loves all good men, by what names or titles soever dignified or distinguished; and ne'er thinks the worse of an honest man, if malice gives him an ill name . . . he thinks he may lawfully hold communion with any true Church of Christ, where the substance of religion is found . . . and . . . he had rather give an account to a merciful God for too much charity than for too great censoriousness. . . . In a word, he is one that mends the times more by his good example than by his clamours."[2]

The tedious arguments of this writer by which he sought to explain and excuse abstention from the objectionable ceremonies, we need not refer to; but the friendly attitude his party adopted to the Dissenters is

[1] "I oft hear Conformists omit divers prayers. I have seen Dr. Horton give the Lord's Supper, I think, to the greater part that sate" (Baxter, "Answer to Stillingfleet," ed. 1680, p. 81).

[2] "Moderation a Vertue," pp. 29 and 30.

so important that it demands further notice. Not only did the Moderates allow the Dissenters to come to the Sacrament at their churches (which we repeat all Churchmen then did); not only did they make the way easy by not insisting on kneeling; but, most striking of all, they were in the habit of joining the Nonconformists at their Communion services. Sherlock bitterly complains of this: "This is thought of late days, not only a very innocent and lawful thing, but the true catholick spirit, and catholic communion to communicate in the Churches of all communions, unless perhaps they may except the Papists and Quakers. It is thought a schismatical principle to refuse to communicate with those Churches which withdraw communion from us. And thus some who communicate ordinarily with the Church of England make no scruple to communicate in prayers and Sacraments with Presbyterian and Independent Churches, and Presbyterians can communicate with the Church of England, and with Independents, whom formerly they charged with downright schism; and some think it very indifferent whom they communicate with and therefore take their turns in all." [1]

The Moderate was not slow to defend his practice. In a pamphlet entitled, "The Conformists' reasons for hearing and joining with the Nonconformists," the defence of this very remarkable practice is set out. Not only intercommunion is defended, but the plea for pulpit exchange is voiced.

"The Church hath real need of their (i.e. the Dissenters') labours, their ministry is hated by Satan and saint-hating men; they are duly subject to the higher powers, and are protected by the law of the land in the

[1] "A Resolution of Some Cases of Conscience which respect Church Communion," p. 49, 1681.

course of their ministry, *and are a considerable part of that same Church of England.*" . . . "The Nonconformists really are not against us, therefore they are on our part. The scope and drift of their ministry is to win souls, not to this or that sect, but to Christ. . . . They are truly tender of our ministry, rejoice in our labours, and in the gifts and graces of able and faithful Conformists . . . and as they have opportunity, hear and join with us in our churches." [1]

"The Nonconformists are not against all Church government by bishops, for they have long desired that famous Archbishop Usher's model of Church government by bishops and presbyters might be established among us. But hitherto they could not obtain it, for there are a party of men in the nation, some clergy and some laity, by profession Protestants, whom the piety and moderation of such bishops as Bishop Usher and Bishop Hall doth greatly offend and can by no means please. A limited episcopacy the Nonconformists generally are not against; try and see if they will not accept and willingly conform to Archbishop Usher's model." [2]

"Let us . . . long for the good day when all sect-names shall be abolished, and till that can be, let us really and indeed be one in love, embrace the Nonconformists as dear brethren in Christ, make them freely welcome to preach in our pulpits, encourage our people to hear them, and hear and join with them ourselves as we have opportunity, and thank them for their labours, and wish them all good success, and extend our charity to such of them as need, and in all things conform ourselves to the example of Christ." [3]

We have seen sufficient thus far to show that so far

[1] p. 1. [2] p. 4. [3] p. 8.

as the Church and State were concerned the Nonconformists were regarded as having full right and title to all the services and Sacraments of the National Church. In other words the Church was regarded as a national institution, belonging to all Englishmen, and not to those only who were fully satisfied that it was right on all points. The Confirmation Rubric was not enforced in the case of Dissenters, and only very slackly followed out in the case of Church people. On the other hand, Dissenters regarded the Church as owing a duty to them, and multitudes of them joined in its worship and Sacraments. Numerous illustrations might be given.

High Churchmen mocked the absurdity of "occasional and stated communion," and doubtless they had much to say which required answering. "Occasional communion," said Sherlock, was as contradictory as "occasional membership" or "occasional allegiance to the King". The two words were mutually exclusive. "Communion" is a permanent condition, "occasional" is equivalent to spasmodic, and the two terms cannot be associated.

The Dissenters' answer is given for what it may be considered worth. Excepting those who attend Communion in Church for ulterior purposes, there were many who came infrequently from a sincere desire to show their Christian unity.[1] These regarded the Church of Christ as consisting of all those who loved and served

[1] Howe gives a good illustration of this practice. "Most of the considerable rejected ministers met, and agreed to hold occasional communion with the now re-established Church—not quitting their own ministry, or declining the exercise of it as they could have opportunity. And as far as I could by inquiry learn, I can little doubt this to have been the judgment of their fellow-sufferers through the nation in great part ever since." (*ap.* Horton, "John Howe," p. 83.)

God. They, equally with the National Church, went to form that great Body. Generally they preferred their own method and their own form of worship, but in order to illustrate their fundamental brotherhood they joined in Communion at the parish churches from time to time. The High Churchman's argument was stultified, as the Dissenters hastened to point out, by the relationship admitted between the French Reformed and the English Churches. Sherlock admits, "we may lawfully communicate with the French Church as occasion serves" and that they "own each other's communion," [1] and it is not clear at this point how his objection to occasional communion can apply to the Dissenters and not to the foreign Church.

We say, at this point; for an argument was advanced at once to claim that foreign non-episcopalians and English Dissenters were not on all fours. It was the same point as that raised by the Caroline divines when arguing that under certain circumstances the ministry of non-episcopalians was valid. The English Dissenters, they maintained, were schismatics. We must, therefore, briefly look into this question.

"Schism," said the High Churchman, "is a voluntary departure or separation of oneself, without just cause given, from that Christian Church whereof he was once a member; or schism is breach of that communion wherein a man might have continued without sin." [2]

[1] "Letters to Anonymous," 1683, p. 13.

[2] "A Serious and Compassionate Enquiry into the Causes of the present Neglect and Contempt of the Church of England," 1675, pp. 112-3. Cf. Bishop Gore's definition of schism as "a wilful self-withdrawal from the legitimate succession of the Catholic Church" . . . "the wilful causing of a breach inside the Church". ("Roman Catholic Claims," p. 126.) Can we honestly apply the term "wilful" to the seventeenth century Dissenters?

But at every point this definition is open to objection. Could such terms as "voluntary departure," "without just cause given" apply to the Dissenters? They replied that, if this were so with them, then the whole Church was schismatic from Rome's standpoint; and the answer of the High Churchman is as follows: "This is our case, that as we charge those of the separation from our Church with schism, so do all Romanists charge us of the Church of England with schism too; but with this difference, as we pretend, that we have good reason for that, so have not they for this. For schism is a causeless separation from the Church and we think we may appeal to all disinterested and judicious Christians that we have shown our separation from Rome to be grounded upon just and necessary causes, but that the Dissenters have shown none such for their separation from us." [1]

As in Chapter VIII. p. 130, it comes again to a question of personal opinion as to what is a just cause of separation, and it is not easy to see what absolute test or rule can be applied. It was urged frequently that inasmuch as the Nonconformist did come occasionally of his own accord to the Sacrament in Church, he was thereby showing he could communicate without sin, and therefore could have no just cause for separation. "There are those who . . . seem not to think our communion unlawful in itself since they can sometimes communicate with us in our whole service." But it is very probable that the Churches at which the pious and well-meaning Dissenters thus communicated were the Churches where the moderate divines ministered, and

[1] "The Difference of the Case between the Separation of Protestants from the Church of Rome and the Separation of Dissenters from the Church of England." (Clegatt, 1683, pp. 2, 3.)

where kneeling and other ceremonies, to which objection was taken, would not be insisted upon.

For their part, the Nonconformists never admitted that they were schismatics. Their definition of schism was vastly different from that of the High Churchman. It is "an uncharitable alienation of affection amongst professed Christians, occasioned by their different apprehension about little things".[1]

"All Churches," the same writer says, "are one as united into one Body, whereof Christ is Head, having the same Baptism, the same Faith, and the same Eucharist."[2] "If this be the true proper unity of Churches, then there may be true proper Church unity without the uniting of many particular Churches, ministers, and people into one diocesan Church, under the jurisdiction of a prelate and his officers."[3] "I do not speak against the conveniency of such a thing but only observe that it is not *de essentia unitatis*. We hold communion in essentials with every Church of Christ upon earth."[4] The bonds of unity are "faith and charity," "the breach of the former is heresy and of the latter schism".[5] "We hold communion with you in all that's necessary either to the being or welfare of a Church; and by your unnecessary trifles you break with us, and not we with you, if any breach there be."[6] "Who is the true Catholic Christian, and who is the real schismatic? He that holds communion with all Protestant churches occasionally . . . or he that, denying all true Churches to be truly such, except his own, refuses communion with them for want of a ceremony or two?"[7]

[1] "A Vindication of Mr. H.'s brief Enquiry into the True Nature of Schism," 1691, p. 14.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 16. [3] *Ibid.* p. 17. [4] *Ibid.* p. 29.

[5] *Ibid.* p. 65. [6] *Ibid.* p. 66.

[7] Alsop, "Mischief of Impositions," 1680, p. 30.

It is not at all easy to act as referee between the two parties concerned in this dispute. To adjudge the Nonconformists to be schismatics would be to accuse them of being guilty of a sin of the gravest kind. It does seem, however, that they had a very defective conception of Christian unity. Undoubtedly, "the unity of the Spirit" is the great essential, but where that spiritual affinity is real and strong it will crave unceasingly for some way in which it can find definite expression; it will not rest satisfied with pious assurances of brotherly feelings. Neither side had the monopoly of this Christ-like spirit, and it is to be found frequently in the writings of the High, as well as the Moderate, Churchman.

The following among many illustrations will make this clear:—

"The most effectual means by which they" (the Dissenters) "can contribute to all these ends is to return heartily and unanimously to the communion of the Church of England, all the true sons whereof are ready to receive them with open arms, with joy and thankfulness to God, and to them, for the good they will do us and themselves by it." [1]

Again:—

"Dear Brethren, you being at this time called upon by authority to join in communion with the Church, and the laws ordered to be put into execution against such as refuse it; it's both your duty and interest to inquire into the grounds upon which you refuse obedience to the laws, communion with a Church of God, and thereby expose our religion to danger and yourselves to suffering." [2]

[1] Clegatt, "An Answer to the Dissenters' Objections," 1683, Pt. II, p. 47.

[2] Ep. ded. to "The Case of Lay Communion with the Church of England," 1683.

And once more; nothing could be more brotherly than Tenison's exhortation.

"Do as much as the Dissenters, who are most eminent for learning, piety, preaching, writing, experience, and fame, sometimes actually do. They have owned our communion to be lawful. They have received the Communion kneeling.[1] They have bred up children to the ministry of this Church. They have joined in the liturgy." [2]

But the Nonconformist did not see Christian unity from the same view-point as the Churchman. While equally sincere, corporate union did not appeal to him as essential. The writings of both Churchmen and Dissenters repeatedly witness to the willingness of the latter to join in communion with the National Church from time to time, when he could do so without sin, as a witness to the spiritual unity existing between him and them.[3]

[1] Cf. "I preached and administered the Sacrament at All Hallows in Northampton, where they all came up upon my invitation to the Altar, who had never done it before, except Mr. Cockeram and Mr. Clarke, the former of which spoke more than became him and refused to come up to take satisfaction to his scruple, clapped on his hat and went out; God forgive him and bring him into the way of truth. . . . I dined at the Bishop of Durham's and my son, with the Bishop of Rochester and Peterborough to whom I gave an account of the Sacrament which I delivered at Northampton the Sunday before and received his thanks for bringing them up to the Altar." (Bishop Cartwright's "Diary," 3 and 10 April, 1687.) Obviously many of the communicants were Dissenters.

[2] The conclusion of "An Argument for Union," 1683.

[3] "Communicating with the Church of England was a practice among the Dissenters not of a late date, but had been used by some of the most eminent of our ministers since 1662, with a design to show their charity towards the Church, notwithstanding they apprehended themselves bound in conscience ordinarily to separate

But this very fact made his position all the more incomprehensible to Churchmen. "We charitably suppose that men, who pretend to so much tenderness of conscience and care for their souls, will do nothing not so much as once, which they believe or suspect to be sinful at the time when they do it."

If *occasional* communion is not sinful, runs the argument, therefore *stated and regular* communion cannot be sinful, and, if not sinful, why not conform?

The logic seems both sound and clear.

But the Dissenters' reply was to this effect: We do not see the occasion for this close and permanent union. We are prepared to own you as a Christian Church and your members as Christian brethren; hence our intercommunion. Even the High Church writer above quoted had admitted (though he refused to apply it to them), "that where Churches own each other's communion, as members of the same Body, there is no schism". This the Dissenters did; therefore, they pleaded, they were not schismatics.

Perhaps a fair concluding remark would be that schism cannot be said to exist unless the spirit of schism is present. An essential ingredient of that unhappy spirit is hatred, and this was present only in those of "the baser sort," and then on both sides. Schism may have existed somewhere, on one side or the other, but one cannot but feel Jeremy Taylor's caveat is worth bearing in mind, if the reckless task is attempted of fixing the blame: "Men would do well to consider . . . whether of the two is the schismatic, he that makes unnecessary and . . . inconvenient impositions, or he that disobeys them, be-

from it, and that it had been also practised by a number of the most understanding people among them, before the so-doing was necessary to qualify for a place." (Calamy, "Life and Times," I, 473.)

cause he cannot, without doing violence to his conscience, believe them; he that parts communion because without sin he could not entertain it, or they that have made it necessary for him to separate, by requiring such conditions which to no man are simply necessary, and to his particular are either sinful or impossible".[1]

We have made several references in this chapter to the practice of occasional attendance at the Holy Communion by Dissenters. This was practised by two different types of Nonconformists. There were those, as we have already seen, who did so from a sincere desire to witness to Christian unity in fundamentals, but there were others who occasionally conformed, in order to be able to hold office either in municipalities or in the State.

It is perfectly obvious that in the latter case such a practice was detestable and outrageous to the feelings of all good Churchmen.

The whole question came forward as the subject of bitter controversy in the early years of the eighteenth century.[2]

We have already noted the grounds upon which the pious Dissenters defended this practice: the office-seeker could use no such plea. He conformed because he was compelled to do so.

The Churchmen who objected to the practice, in addition to the arguments already referred to, pleaded that to make reception of the Holy Communion a test was profanation of the most sacred rite of religion. From such an argument it is scarcely possible to disagree.

[1] "Liberty of Prophesying," Chap. XXII. par. 1.

[2] When "True sons of the Church [*sic*] made no doubt but to get an act to prevent it," says Compton's anonymous biographer, ed. 1715, p. 67.

But a careful study of the question makes it all too plain that with many Churchmen the objection was an unreal one. They were becoming more and more impatient at the peace which the Dissenters were enjoying —the outcome of the Toleration Act of 1689. Towards the end of Queen Anne's reign Parliament was strongly Tory, or High Church, for the two terms were in many respects synonymous. The question of the introduction of an Occasional Conformity Bill quickly came to the front. Now it must be carefully noted that this Bill was not to prevent Dissenters communicating in church. To induce them to do so, by arguments, pleas, or threats, was the constant purpose of Churchmen of every kind. The Bill was purely a persecuting measure, the object of which was to punish severely a Dissenter who qualified for office by an attendance at Communion at church and afterwards communicated at his own conventicle. It professed "a strong feeling against persecution for conscience' sake," it is true; but it went on to declare "the intention of the law of England that the country should be ruled only by Churchmen".[1]

Any office-bearer who should frequent a conventicle was to be fined £100 and £5 for every day he should continue in office afterwards. Of course the Nonconformists regarded this as persecution, but it is strange to find that some Churchmen denied that it was. They maintained that toleration was all the Dissenters could reasonably expect, and that indulgence of this kind was unreasonable. One of them writes as follows: "I wonder what the Roman Emperors would have thought of the Christian religion, if after they had granted a full indulgence, the primitive Christians should have been

[1] Hutton, "History of the English Church," 1903, p. 258.

perpetually buzzing in their ears that they were still persecuted, because they were not made praetors, praefects, or major-domos ".[1]

To this author the objectionable practice of occasional conformity was "a most foul and corrupt practice, loaded with iniquity of divers kinds and every one of those kinds crimes heinous and of deep dye."[2]

But, for all the disclaimers that persecution was not intended, it certainly was; and the alarmists, who cried out that the toleration was in danger, had good cause for their fears.

Simon Patrick, Bishop of Ely, uncompromising Churchman though he was, would have none of the Bill. "I bless God," he says, "I endeavoured to vote with all uprightness and sincerity and could not but be against it. For I observed there was nothing of religion intended in it. . . . I looked upon this Bill as making a manifest breach upon the Act of Indulgence. . . . For it struck at the very best of the Nonconformists; who, looking upon us as good Christians, that had nothing sinful in our worship, thought they ought upon occasion to communicate with us; but, imagining they had something better in their way of worship, could not leave it, but adhere to their dissenting ministers. This I took not to be an argument of their hypocrisy as many called it, but of their conscientious sincerity; therefore I thought they ought to be tolerated in this practice, which might bring them over to us as I know it had done some worthy persons."[3]

Burnet, the Latitudinarian, spoke in the House to

[1] "The Case of Moderation and Occasional Conformity," 1705, p. 55.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 28.

[3] "Autobiography," "Works," ed. 1858, Vol. IX, pp. 553-5.

much the same effect. "I ventured to say that a man might lawfully communicate with a Church that he thought had a worship and a doctrine uncorrupted, and yet communicate more frequently with a Church that he thought more perfect; I myself had communicated with the Churches of Geneva and Holland and yet at the same time had communicated with the Church of England. So though the Dissenters were in a mistake as to their opinion which was the more perfect Church, yet allowing them a toleration in that error this practice might be justified."

Archbishop Sharp was not at all of this way of thinking. In his diary, 14 December, 1703, he records: "I spoke as well as I could for the Bill and not to my own dissatisfaction, I thank God".[1]

Again and again the Bill was rejected by the Lords, ten bishops voting against it and six for it.

It first made its appearance in 1702, and when it arrived in the Lords "the greater number of the bishops being against it, they were censured as cold and slack in the concerns of the Church. Angry men took occasion from hence to charge the bishops as enemies to the Church, and betrayers of its interests, because we would not run blindfold into the passions and designs of ill-tempered men."[2]

Again the Bill was brought in, modified somewhat,

[1] "Life of Archbishop Sharp," by his son, ed. 1825, p. 357. But he added: "that if he were abroad, he would willingly communicate with the Protestant Churches where he should happen to be". But when M. de la Mothe asked his permission, through Atterbury, to publish this remark, he said he objected to this, but added: "I spoke my hearty sense, and if what I said was published to all the world, I should not retract it." (*Ibid.* pp. 377, 378.)

[2] Burnet, op. cit. p. 721.

and tacked to a money bill to compel the Lords to pass it. But again it was rejected. In 1711, however, it was passed. This Bill enacted that "all persons in places of profit and trust, and all the common-council-men in corporations who should be at any meeting for Divine worship (where there were above ten persons, more than the family) in which the Common Prayer was not used, or where the Queen and the Princess Sophia were not prayed for, should upon conviction forfeit their place of trust or profit, . . . and such persons were to continue incapable of any employment, until they should depose, that for a whole year together they had been at no conventicle ".[1]

But though it was too early in the day for real generous toleration,[2] it was, on the other hand, too late for measures of this kind. Narrow-minded Churchmen and party politicians could not expect to dominate the nation as they had done fifty years before. Events had moved too rapidly, the national sense of right and fairness had expanded. The Act against occasional conformity had a brief and inglorious career. In 1718 it was repealed.

The Rubric Requiring Confirmation.

What is the actual force of the rubric placed at the end of the Confirmation service requiring "that there shall none be admitted to the Holy Communion until such time as he be confirmed, or be ready and desirous to be confirmed"?

A good deal of misconception is occasioned by divorc-

[1] Burnet, op. cit. p. 876.

[2] Cf. "An unlimited toleration without any restrictions is condemned by most that pretend to any degree of sobriety." ("Life of Compton," p. 87.)

ing it from its historical context. It is quite certain that in its original sense it had no reference to Dissenters, for the excellent reason that no Dissenters then existed. At first, it was no more than the Church's rule for its own children, to safeguard the Holy Communion from ignorant participants, who had had no instruction as to the meaning and obligations of the Sacrament; and such we contend is still its proper meaning.

Now it is important to note that if the Church really does enforce Confirmation as *an essential preliminary*, in all cases, to Holy Communion, it comes perilously near to being false to one of the fundamentals of its constitution. The Holy Communion is properly described as "generally necessary to salvation," and in Article VI it is laid down that "whatsoever is not read in Holy Scripture nor may be proved thereby, is not to be . . . thought requisite or necessary to salvation". Now it is obvious that if Confirmation is made an essential preliminary to that which is "generally necessary to salvation," *ipso facto*, Confirmation itself is made "generally necessary to salvation". He would be a bold man indeed who would attempt to justify this on Scriptural grounds!

Let us look at the actual history of the rubric. Down to 1662 it ran as follows: "And there shall none be admitted to the Holy Communion until such time as he can say the Catechism and be confirmed".[1]

At the Savoy Conference the Puritans objected to this rule. But it must be remembered that their objections were not that access should be made easier to the Sacrament—rather the reverse. Nor did they object to the rite of Confirmation. They rather protested at the slovenli-

[1] In 1549 it was simpler still "And there shall none, etc., until such time as he be confirmed". (*Vide* "Liturgiae Britannicae," Keeling, p. 293.)

ness and infrequency with which it was performed, and objected that ability to say the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, and the Creed, was no guarantee of spiritual fitness. At the 1662 revision the rubric was altered to its present form, in which there is obviously not so much insistence upon Confirmation.

As a matter of clear fact, we know that after the Restoration only a very small proportion of Churchmen were ever confirmed, and from the Dissenters Confirmation was not in practice required.

Now it is very noticeable that at the 1662 revision no alterations were made to meet the cases of baptized Dissenters wishing to join the Church. The present Confirmation service, as has been clearly pointed out, is quite unsuitable for such cases. "In the initial interrogatory in the Anglican Order of Confirmation the confirmands are asked whether they 'ratify and confirm the promises and vows made in their name by their godfathers and godmothers at their Baptism'. But in many Nonconformist communions the institution of godparents does not exist. How then can Nonconformists be confirmed without either, (*a*) being rebaptized with sponsors, or (*b*) having the interrogatory omitted or adapted to their case, for the doing of which there is no liturgical sanction" (an alteration which surely should have been made in 1662 if the rite was really deemed essential) "or (*c*) in the solemn moment of their Confirmation undertaking to ratify supposititious promises alleged to have been made by imaginary persons who have no existence?" [1]

How was it then that though the famous 600 alterations were made in 1662, none were designed to deal

[1] Bishop of Carlisle in "Spectator," 29 October, 1910.

with such cases? No form of reception into the Church was suggested, no alternative Confirmation service was drawn up?

We admit that an argument from silence is seldom conclusive, but it is hard to escape the conclusion that the bishops did not consider it necessary.

It is, however, perfectly clear that in Churches, where Infant Baptism is the rule, some additional ceremony preceding admission to Holy Communion is essential as a preventive against the ignorant participant and as a guarantee, in some measure at least, of spiritual maturity. The ceremony adopted in our Church is the apostolic rite of Confirmation. But in the non-episcopal bodies of to-day other methods are adopted to secure the same ends. Now it is a question which demands careful answering, whether we are justified in refusing to our countrymen baptized into the faith and admitted into full Church membership by such other methods, a full and free participation in the Holy Communion administered in the parish churches of the land. Such a refusal carries with it grave consequences and implies a great deal which will require justification. Not only does it mean that the Church is dissatisfied with the methods of admission to their Sacrament adopted by Dissenters, but it at least throws doubt upon the reality of their Baptism and calls in question their status as Christians. Such a refusal would have to find its justification in Scripture, in antiquity, and in the Anglican formularies, as interpreted by the practice of the authorities in Church and State since the Reformation. Such a refusal would depreciate Holy Baptism, and would raise the whole question whether our Church was any longer entitled to call itself "the Church of England". It would lose its character and become a

in the Church undermined the prevalent conception of the ministry. Such alterations, these objectors maintained, would do more harm than good.[1]

The opposers of comprehension were constantly throwing at the Dissenters the fact that hundreds of alterations were made in 1662 in the Prayer Book without producing any tangible result, ignoring the fact that hardly one of these alterations touched the points at issue. The fault, they loudly cried, was entirely on the side of Dissent. "Must the mother be bleeded if the children be distempered?"[2]

But surely it was obvious that when the family was so utterly divided the children were not alone to blame! The clergy, bishops and rank and file, had been harsh and overbearing. Gentleness and persuasiveness were conspicuously absent. By such methods many might have been won at least among the laity, but attempts to soothe the malcontents were few and far between.[3]

[1] "I am fully persuaded that on making such alterations as are said to be prepared by the Commissioners" (in 1690) "the Church will run the hazard of offending a greater number of more considerable persons, than they are likely to gratify thereby." (Long, "Vox Cleri, or the Sense of the Clergy concerning the Making of Alterations in the Established Liturgy," 1690, p. 6).

[2] *Ibid.* p. 21. Cf. another writer's opinion. "The notion is first for a comprehension, and that prepares us for a Presbyterian government; and if that once get up, down goes episcopacy, down goes comprehension." (Hart, "Preservative against Comprehension," ed. 1718, p. 16.)

[3] "While we" (i.e. he and Charles II) "were talking of the ill-state the Church was in, I was struck to hear a prince of his course of life so much disgusted at the ambition, covetousness, and the scandals of the clergy. He said, if the clergy had done their part, it had been an easy thing to run down the Nonconformists. . . . He told me he had a chaplain that was a very honest man, but a very great blockhead, to whom he had given a living in Suffolk that

Reform of method had to begin from above. So long as the leaders of the Church were against reunion the parish clergy generally would follow suit, they had no initiative of their own. The only plan at all likely to be successful was the one mentioned; the broadening of the basis of the Church. This was the course advocated by some of the greatest scholars of the time. Many of them were hastily written off as no friends of the Church and all their acts and words disparaged and discounted accordingly.[1] But for all that, they went forward bravely with their efforts, although unhappily those efforts were doomed to be lost labour.

One of the most striking books of the time was written with this end in view. Stillingfleet's "Irenicum, or Weapon-Salve for the Wounds of the Church," was the production of that precocious genius at the early age of 22. It is true that he modified the opinions he expressed therein when he was older, but this does not affect the value of his arguments, and the fact that this work survived and enjoyed such popularity, when most of his later works were relegated to oblivion, suggests the survival of the fittest.[2] A Nonconformist admirer of the

was full of that sort of people: he had gone about among them from house to house, though he could not imagine what he could say to them; for, he said, he was a very silly fellow; but that he believed his nonsense suited their nonsense, for he had brought them all to church: and, in reward of his diligence, he had given him a bishoprick in Ireland." (Burnet, "Own Times," ed. 1838, p. 175.)

[1] In 1674 Tillotson and Stillingfleet held a Conference with Nonconformist divines in London, "but they were frowned on by most of the bishops and aspersed by their clerical brethren, who reviled them as traitors to the Church whose bread they were alleged to eat while they lifted up their hands against her". (Molesworth, "History of the Church of England," pp. 65-7.)

[2] "To say the truth, the gravity and seriousness wherewith that book was written appears to have so little of the youth in it, in

"Irenicum" wrote: "He has for ever ruined the pretensions of episcopacy to a *jus divinum* . . . till that book be undone as well as unsaid it will remain in full force and virtue".[1] So important is this book that it demands more than a passing mention. The learning it gives proof of is amazing in one who was merely a boy, and the tolerance and balancing of arguments are even more striking.

The main purpose of the "Irenicum" was to inquire in reference to Church government "Whether any one individual form be founded so upon Divine Right, that all ages and Churches are bound unalterably to observe it".[2] His conclusion is in the negative.

The urgency of reform he clearly sees, for "while physicians quarrel about the method of cure the patient languisheth under their hands".[3] He shows at great length and most conclusively what we have argued in these chapters, that "the most eminent divines of the Reformation did never conceive any one form" (of Church government) "necessary," and his appeal is to a list of names which must carry weight with unbiassed minds. It would be too tedious to even mention them all.[4]

His concluding words strike an admirable note: "I conclude all with this earnest desire, that the wise and

comparison of the jocularity and sportful humour of some of his later writings—when he hath been discussing the most weighty and important cases of conscience—that it seems as a prodigy in nature, and that he began life at the wrong end, that he was old in his youth and reserved his puerility to his more grown age." (John Howe, "Works," ed. 1724, Vol. II, p. 625.)

[1] "Defence of Mr. H.'s Brief Enquiry," 1693, p. 35.

[2] "Irenicum," ed. 1662, preface, p. 12.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 3.

[4] *Ibid.* Pt. II, chap. VIII.

gracious God would send us one heart and one way, that He would be the Composer of our differences, and the Repairer of our breaches; that of our strange divisions and unchristian animosities, while we pretend to serve the Prince of Peace, we may at last see THE END".[1]

In 1668 an interesting negotiation with Dissenters, with a view to comprehension, took place. Lord-Keeper Bridgman, Lord Chief Justice Hale, Bishops Wilkins and Reynolds, and Dr. Burton, Dr. Tillotson, and Stillingfleet were prime movers.

The following propositions were made:—

Those with Presbyterian orders should have impositions of the bishop's hands with the words: "Take thou legal authority to preach the Word of God, and administer the Sacraments in any congregation of the Church of England, where thou shalt be appointed thereunto". So that it was not a "re-ordination" but a "calling according to the existing law". Instead of the former subscription to the formularies of the Church, a general agreement should be asked and an undertaking not to do anything to disturb the peace of the Church. Kneeling, crossing in Baptism, and bowing at the Sacred Name should be optional or taken away.

Alterations in the Liturgy were suggested as follows:—

Psalms to be read in the new translation. Lessons from the Apocrypha to be excluded. Various alterations in reference to Baptism and Confirmation, including omission of statements definitely declaring the recipient regenerate. Omission of certain statements in the Marriage and Burial Service, e.g. "With my body

[1] *Ibid.* p. 416.

I thee worship," "in sure and certain hope" for which latter was to be read, "in a full assurance of the resurrection by our Lord Jesus Christ". The Commination Service not to be enjoined. The Lord's Prayer and Gloria used only once, the "Venite" omitted. The Communion Service to be omitted when there were no Communion days, except the Ten Commandments, and the Kyrie to be said only once at the end of the Tenth Commandment. In the Catechism the answer to the question "How many Sacraments hath Christ ordained in His Church?" might be, "Two only, Baptism and the Lord's Supper".

There were many other suggestions of less importance.

Independents and others who could not subscribe to these proposals were to have full liberty for free exercise of their religion. Their names were to be registered and such registration should free them from obligations to attend their parish churches.

Bates, Manton, and Baxter were consulted on the Presbyterian side. The scheme, however, fell through, according to Neal,[1] through Wilkins confiding it to Bishop Ward, who was so alarmed that he took measures to defeat it.

But Ward does not appear to have been entirely hostile,[2] for another authority says that Tillotson told Ward of the scheme and he "promised to keep the

[1] Op. cit. p. 381.

[2] Though he was by no means a friend of the Dissenters. His eulogistic biographer suggests that his opposition to them was not from a persecuting spirit, but because "he believed if the growth of them were not timely suppressed, it would either cause a necessity of a standing army to preserve the peace or a general toleration which would end in popery". (Pope, "Life of Seth Ward," ed. 1697, p. 68.)

matter private".[1] Lord Clarendon's party raised the popular cry that the Church was in danger. Considerable attention was centred on the project, and many books were written "to expose the Presbyterians, as men of false notions in religion, which led to antinomianism". The alarm extended to Parliament, and when the bill was ready for presentation in the House, "a very extraordinary vote passed, that no bill to that purpose should be received".[2]

In 1680-1681 a more half-hearted attempt was made when John Howe met Bishop Lloyd at Tillotson's house to discuss the question of comprehension. Apparently, Lloyd had no very great interest in the subject, but a bill did come before the House though no one took it seriously. Even the Presbyterians were not anxious to promote it, as they knew the Lords would not pass it.

Buckingham, to gain popularity, offered his services as Nonconformist advocate. But Howe explained frankly that they could not be accepted; "the Nonconformists being an avowedly religious people" must choose some one who would not only "not be ashamed of them, but of whom they might have no reason to be ashamed".

So the project again collapsed.

Well-intentioned though these schemes were, no close observer could be very hopeful of good results. Parties in the State were playing their game, parties in the Church had got such clearly marked divisions that united effort was unlikely. The High Church party

[1] Birch, op. cit. p. 44, ed. 1753.
[2] Burnet, op. cit. p. 176.

contained many of the most eminent and highly respected of the clergy. Latitudinarian projects found little favour in their eyes, and, unless High Church co-operation could be relied upon, all such efforts were a beating of the air. A mere party scheme, however well-meaning, can never be successful. The strong convictions of any legitimate school of thought can only be ignored with one result: the stultification of the cause in hand.

But circumstances were now to arise which were to make the prospects of, at any rate, a good understanding between Church and Dissent more hopeful.

Sancroft, who succeeded Sheldon as Archbishop, was one of the most Christian and altogether excellent bishops with which the Church has ever been blessed. His absolute singleness of purpose and perfect honesty won the confidence and respect of Churchmen and Dissenters. The contrast he presented to the greedy and contemptible sycophants who swarmed at court was most striking. He entreated the King to allow him to decline the primacy, he pleaded his poverty, his solitary habits, his ignorance of court life, but Charles replied with that charm of manner, for which he was conspicuous: "You must take it, as you are quite homeless, for I have given away your deanery of St. Paul's over your head to Dr. Stillingfleet". "Mild and benevolent, as he was in his personal demeanour, Sancroft was nevertheless a strict enforcer of clerical discipline, and vigilantly put down all abuse that came under his observance . . . he performed his duty with the conscientious intrepidity which formed one of his leading characteristics."[1]

[1] Strickland, "Lives of the Seven Bishops," ed. 1866, p. 48.

Sancroft was a High Churchman, and one of the noblest among the many noble spirits who have adorned that party.

In 1678 he was drawn into an interesting correspondence with Dr. Covel, the chaplain to the Princess of Orange, on the subject of the union of the Churches of the Protestant world. William of Orange was always zealous to bring this about, as we shall see more clearly later on. Sancroft was the last man to run hastily into such a project, but that he looked upon it with favour is clear from his correspondence with Covel. "I should count it my joy and the crown of my rejoicing," he wrote, "if I could contribute anything, besides my daily prayers, *ut videat Deus et requirat*, towards restoring and advancing them to a yet better condition"; . . . but, he goes on, "whatever, becomes of your project or mine, or any particular scheme, I can by no means, as our brethren seem to do, give up the whole Protestant cause as lost and desperate and ready to breathe its last. No! God hath by the Reformation kindled and set up a light in Christendom which I am fully persuaded shall never be extinguished."[1]

Later on he turned his attention to non-episcopalians at home. Circumstances, partly religious and partly political, brought Church and Dissent closer together than they had ever been before or perhaps have ever been since. Fear of Rome was shared equally by both, and the foolish attempt of King James to ignore the scruples of the nation brought Churchmen and Dissenters together solidly to oppose him at any cost. The Nonconformists looked upon the Church as their

[1] D'Oyly, "Life of Sancroft," ed. 1821, Vol. I, p. 197 ff. Unfortunately the information on this subject is most scanty.

champions, the Churchmen regarded the Nonconformists as their allies. They must fight and suffer together, and this was the auspicious moment when permanent good might have emerged and at least a good and working understanding been arrived at. Sancroft, now the idol of the nation, was the best, the only man, to bring it about. In the famous petition presented by the seven bishops, it was declared that there was no want of "due tenderness to the Dissenters, in relation to whom they were willing to come to such a temper as should be thought fit, when that matter should be considered and settled in Parliament and Convocation".[1]

On 27 July the same year, the Archbishop issued a circular letter to his clergy recalling them to the better discharge of their duties. The last section is especially to be noted:—

"XI. That they also walk in wisdom towards them that are not of our Communion . . . more especially that they have a very tender regard to our brethren, the Protestant Dissenters; that upon occasion offered, they visit them in their houses, and receive them kindly at their own, and treat them fairly wherever they meet them, discoursing calmly and civilly with them, persuading them, if it may be, to a full compliance with our Church. . . . And, in the last place, that they warmly and most affectionately exhort them to join with us in daily fervent prayer to the God of Peace for the universal blessed union of all Reformed Churches, both at home and abroad, against our common enemies, that all they who do confess the Holy Name of our dear Lord, and do agree in the truth of His Holy Word,

[1] Cardwell, op. cit. p. 400, and Wilkins, "Concilia," IV, p. 617.

may also meet in one Holy Communion, and live in perfect unity and godly love." [1]

No comment is needed on such a beautiful expression of Christian love and fellowship.

A meeting was held at Tillotson's house on 14 January, 1689, to bring about a closer union for which Lloyd, the personal friend of the Archbishop, said he and his friends had Sancroft's approval,[2] when " we agreed that a bill should be prepared to be offered by the bishops, and we drew up the matter of it in ten or twelve heads ".

Unhappily very few details of this project have come down to our days, but a brief account has survived in a speech made by Archbishop Wake at the trial of Sacheverell. He spoke as follows : " It was visible to all the nation, that the more moderate Dissenters were generally so well satisfied with that stand which our divines had made against popery, and the many unanswerable treatises they had published in confutation of it, as to express an unusual readiness to come in to us. And it was, therefore, thought worth while, when they were deliberating about those other matters, to consider at the same time what might be done to gain them without doing any prejudice to ourselves. The scheme was laid out and the several parts of it were committed, not only with the approbation, but by the direction of that great prelate, to such of our divines that were thought worthy to be intrusted with it. His Grace took one part himself, another was committed to a pious and reverend person (Patrick) then a dean,

[1] Molesworth, op. cit. pp. 196, 197, and Wilkins, " Concilia," IV, p. 619.

[2] Patrick, " Autobiography," Works, ed. 1858, Vol. IX, p. 516-7.

afterwards a bishop of our Church. The reviewing of our daily service and Communion book was referred to a select number of excellent persons, two of whom are at this time upon our bench (Sharp and Moore), and I am sure they will bear witness to the truth of my relation. The design was in short this : to improve and if possible amend our discipline ; to review and enlarge our liturgy, by correcting some things, by adding others, and, if it should be thought advisable, by authority, . . . by omitting some few ceremonies which are allowed to be indifferent in their nature, also indifferent in their usage, so as not to make them of necessity binding on those who had conscientious scruples respecting them, till they should be able either to overcome their weaknesses or their prejudices respecting them, and be willing to comply." [1]

Sancroft, at heart, was nervous lest these overtures should go too far; he was not at all prepared "to offer all our ceremonies in sacrifice to the Dissenters, kneeling at the Sacrament and all"; and he was afraid that Lloyd and others were disposed to go farther than he wished. Caution is a becoming trait in an archbishop. But still his heart was right, his will was sound, and where there was a will a way would probably have been found, if politics had not wrecked the prospect; just as this same nemesis closed down the possibility of reunion on the basis of a moderate episcopacy in 1641.

The purity of heart and tenderness of conscience, which might have brought a happy settlement to pass, drove Sancroft from the Church.

It is an idle thing to say, but still who can doubt that

[1] D'Oyly, op. cit. Vol. I, pp. 326-7.

if this great archbishop had arisen in place of Bancroft, Laud, or Sheldon, the whole of religion in England and elsewhere would have been in a happier and more satisfactory state than it is to-day?

Great though the endowments of his successor were, he had not those peculiar gifts which fitted Sancroft for the office of a reconciler. All Tillotson's efforts were the suggestions of a mere party in the Church and for the reason above stated not likely to be successful.

When the new King ascended the throne the whole outlook was different. His well-known desires to bring about union between the Church and Dissenters were well-intentioned.

An influential section in the Church was anxious to heal the Church's wounds. The Latitudinarians, as we have seen, were strongly of this way of thinking, but there was also a choice body of High Churchmen who were still inclined to union.

But the King made a false start. Instead of first consulting the clergy, a bill was introduced in the Upper House for the union of his Majesty's Protestant subjects.[1] It was proposed that a committee consisting equally of divines and laymen should prepare the terms of comprehension. Burnet opposed this, as he feared the clergy would be piqued at such procedure, and he was of the opinion that if the matter was left in their hands entirely "they would come into such a design with zeal and unanimity". But it was not so. The bill was checked in the Lower House. Burnet dis-

[1] "Parliament absolutely refused to take a single step in the matter of toleration, comprehension, or the union of Protestant Churches at home or abroad without the concurrence of Convocation." (Molesworth, p. 228.)

covered that the clergy generally, instead of favouring the measure, were beginning "to show an implacable hatred to the Nonconformists and seemed to wish for an occasion to renew old severities against them".[1]

But the scheme was not to collapse quite so easily. Tillotson persuaded the King to call Convocation and authorize it to appoint a committee to deal with the matter. This was done and a commission was appointed, consisting of ten bishops and twenty divines who were directed to meet as often as should be needful "to prepare such alterations of the liturgy and canons . . . and to consider such other matters, as in" their "judgments" might "most conduce to the ends above-mentioned".

The members of this committee were men of striking ability. Among them were such notable Churchmen as Stillingfleet, Beveridge, Burnet, Tillotson, Compton, Patrick, Tenison, Sharp, and Grove, all of whom left their mark on the Church.

Tillotson was the prime mover in the scheme. Under seven headings he had drawn up a paper containing "concessions which will probably be made by the Church of England for the union of Protestants". We need not enumerate them all, but the seventh is interesting. The same suggestion was made as in 1668 in reference to Presbyterian orders. It ran as follows: "(7) That for the future none be capable of any ecclesiastical benefice or preferment in the Church of England that shall be ordained in England otherwise than by bishops. And that those, who have been ordained only by presbyters, shall not be compelled to renounce their former ordination. But because many have, and do still doubt of the validity of such ordination, where episcopal ordina-

[1] Burnet, op. cit. pp. 530-1.

tion may be had, and is by law required, it shall be sufficient for such persons to receive ordination from a bishop in this or the like form: 'If thou art not already ordained, I ordain thee, etc.'." [1]

The committee set to work diligently. Their recommendations were radical in the extreme. "New collects were drawn up more agreeable to the epistles and gospels for the whole course of the year, and with a force and beauty of expression capable of affecting and raising the mind in the strongest manner. The first draft of them was composed by Dr. Patrick, who was esteemed to have a peculiar talent for composing prayers. Dr. Burnet added to them yet further force and spirit. Dr. Stillingfleet then examined every word in them with the exactest judgment; and Dr. Tillotson gave them the last hand by the fine and masterly touches of his natural and flowing eloquence." [2]

It all sounds very attractive. The intention was doubtless excellent, but a very slight acquaintance with "the natural and flowing eloquence" of the time does not encourage us to think the collects would have been improved. Beyond this, chanting the service in cathedrals was to be done away, that it might be "intelligible to the common people". "Proper and devout Psalms" were to be selected for the Sundays. The Apocryphal lessons and "those of the Old Testament, which are too natural," were to be expurgated. The objectionable ceremonies were to be made indifferent, and a rubric was to be inserted in the Baptismal service explaining crossing, so that the "vulgar" need not be sent "to search the canons, which few of them ever saw". A rubric was to be inserted that Lenten fasting meant

[1] Birch, op. cit. pp. 169-70. [2] *Ibid.* p. 175.

only "extraordinary acts of devotion". The absolution might be read by a deacon, and the word "minister" in the rubric was to be inserted instead of "priest". A number of other detailed alterations in the Liturgy were proposed.

Parents who preferred to act as sponsors for their children, instead of having others, might do so. A sensible rubric was appended to the Athanasian Creed "declaring the curses therein not to be restrained to every particular article, but intended against those that deny the substance of the Christian religion in general". "If any minister refuse the surplice, the bishop, if the people desire it, and the living will bear it, may substitute one in his place who will officiate in it; but the whole thing is left to the discretion of the bishops."

Several members of the commission would not listen to comprehension on such terms. Bishops Sprat and Mew absented themselves from the sittings, and Drs. Aldrich and Jane withdrew. This was ominous, especially when Jane was elected as prolocutor of the Lower House of Convocation. His principles were questionable. Report says that, disappointed at being refused the bishopric of Exeter, "he was so far disgusted, that he was ever after a secret enemy of King William and his government, though he had appeared himself so early in the Revolution".[1]

The comprehension scheme failed in Convocation exactly as it had done in the Parliament. Favoured by the Upper House, it was summarily dismissed in the Lower House. Jane was the prime mover in its collapse. When presented to the Bishop of London as the elected prolocutor he made a Latin speech, "in which he ex-

[1] Birch, op. cit. p. 174.

tolled the excellency of the Church of England . . . intimating, that it wanted no amendment, and concluding with the application of this sentence by way of triumph, *Nolumus leges Angliae mutari*". The Bishop replied that the clergy "ought to endeavour a temper in those things that are not essential in religion . . . that it must need be their duty to show . . . indulgence and charity to Dissenters".[1]

The failure of the scheme was a bitter disappointment to the King. When visiting the House of Lords he had even proposed to exempt the Nonjurors from taking the oath of allegiance, if the bill were passed. But the King's zealous support was a doubtful advantage to the scheme.

With its collapse ended organized attempts in this direction. The rise of the Latitudinarians with their view of moderate episcopacy had opened a door into the Church for all reasonable Dissenters, but other circumstances made achievement more difficult than in 1662 or 1604. From the Dissenters' point of view it was not so desirable. "They had increased their own ordained ministers, and had begun to create an ecclesiastical history, and to cherish in their separate capacity something of an *esprit de corps*. The opportunity of recalling the wanderers, once possessed by the Church party, had slipped away beyond recall. Overtures which would have been eagerly grasped before, were coldly looked at now."[2]

In a word Dissent was fast arriving at the condition when patronage would be indignantly refused, and when its adherents would only treat on terms of equality. Had the situation been forced at this late date, it would

[1] Birch, op. cit. pp. 186-7.

[2] Stoughton, "Church of the Revolution," p. 90.

very likely have brought about serious complications. It was generally supposed that the Nonjurors were eager for such a scheme, as then they would have come forward with the bold claim to be the true orthodox remnant. But this is not true of all, especially when we remember Sancroft's feelings in 1688. Burnet could feel "there was a very happy direction of the Providence of God in this matter".[1]

Whether the Nonjurors really meditated such a design or not, it is certainly true that "it would have been dangerous to the safety of the Church, and fatal to the cause of the Revolution, to have supplied so powerful a party with the further plea that the national religion had been adulterated".[2] Though they were small in numbers yet their influence was very great. Their conscientious behaviour had made them objects of universal respect, their politics were at least sympathetically regarded by a large section of the nation, and many who desired comprehension agreed that more mischief than benefit would probably result from pressing the point at that juncture.

That the Nonjurors were bitter against the Church is as clear as it is comprehensible. Extremists among them regarded the establishment as forsworn and apostate.

"Dr. Geo. Hickes, the deprived Dean of Worcester, who was regarded as the head of the Nonjuring clergy, being lately dead (1716), the publication of his papers revealed the intentions of his party respecting the Church, whenever the Stuart line should be restored. They held that all the conforming clergy were schismatic, and

[1] Burnet, op. cit.
[2] Cardwell, "History of Conferences," p. 422.

pronounced the invalidity of orders conferred by bishops made by usurping monarchs; consequently all baptisms performed by these schismatic divines were deemed to be illegal; and it was resolved that neither the one nor the other should be acknowledged, until the parties had received fresh ordination or fresh baptism from the hands of their own part of the Church which had never bowed the knee to Baal."[1]

What they had suffered makes this at least pardonable, but what is difficult to explain is the attitude of the High Church clergy who remained in the Church. Their views on the ministry would lead one to suppose that they would have received the recommendations of the commission, many of whom were bishops, with some show of respect, if not even obedience.[2] But the labours of the rulers in the Church were simply brushed aside without any consideration.

Comprehension was dropped finally, to the disappointment of the liberal party in Church and State, and they were compelled to rest satisfied with the Toleration Act.

On the whole it appears that politics were mainly responsible for the wrecking of the scheme. "Conditional ordination," whatever the merits of the idea may be, would have been accepted by most of the Presbyterians, though the Independents and others would have probably rejected it. Still, to have drawn the majority into the Church would have been a priceless blessing.

Wistful regret fills the mind as we look back on these

[1] Bishop Monk's "Life of Bentley," Vol. I, p. 426.

[2] The insubordination of the High Church clergy on another occasion awakened surprise in Burnet's mind. "It seemed strange to see men who had so long asserted the Divine right of episcopacy . . . now assume to themselves the most important act of Church government, the judging in points of doctrine." (Op. cit. p. 69.)

negotiations. Even though little had resulted, it would go far to satisfy the consciences of Churchmen to-day to feel that the right hand of Christian fellowship and brotherhood had been honestly held out to the Dissenters in 1689, and a way to reach Christian unity sincerely sought by the Church. Tardy though it would have been, yet we could regard it as a real expression of sorrow and an act of repentance for the bitter and unchristian conduct of many Churchmen in the evil days gone by.

Thoresby's lament must find an echo in many a heart. "What a deplorable case are we reduced to, that so many attempts for reformation (comprehension) have been unsuccessful, particularly that most famous in the beginning of the late reign, 1689, when so many incomparable persons, of primitive candour and piety, were concerned therein; of which my lord Archbishop of York has spoke to me with deep concern; for which disappointment all good Christians have the deeper cause of sorrow, because we are positively told that in all probability it would have brought in two-thirds of the Dissenters in England. Lord send us Thy Holy and Peaceable Spirit to influence the hearts of such as have power in their hands to heal our piteous breaches in Thy due time!"[1]

[1] Ralph Thoresby's "Diary," ed. 1830, Vol. I, p. 400.

CHAPTER XIII.

ARCHBISHOP SHARP AND THE PRUSSIAN LUTHERANS.

A BRIEF account must now be given of a *rapprochement* of a very different kind. It is quite clear, from what has gone before, that the High Church party in the Church would not look with favour upon any schemes of reunion with any Church except on the basis of episcopacy. We have noticed that "bishop" was regarded by many in a very indefinite way. The Episcopal Churches were by no means clear what a bishop actually was—nor is the question any nearer settlement now. Was he a presbyter with authority given him by the Church to perform certain duties and to use certain powers which his fellow-presbyters possessed equally with himself, but which they, for disciplinary reasons, were not authorized to perform and exert? Or was he possessed of a power and authority higher than that of the presbyters? Did the bishop, in other words, differ from the presbyter in rank or in order? We have seen that the former view was held by many great authorities, and admitted as a tolerable and reasonable view by many more. Even Bramhall and Joseph Hall, amongst others, expressed themselves as satisfied, if one individual were invested with pre-eminent authority over his fellows, even though he were not definitely consecrated bishop. Their objection was rather to the novelty of government by a body of elders.

It is clear, therefore, that an "episcopal Church" was a much more elastic term then than many to-day would admit it to be.

When, therefore, the Prussian Church was prepared to accept "episcopal" government, the way was opened to friendly intercourse and cordial sympathy, without inquiry as to whether the "bishops" of that Church were really bishops in the canonical sense at all. And I am not aware that in the negotiations we are about to relate, a single voice was raised to deny the validity of the authority of the bishops appointed in the Prussian Church in the eighteenth century; much less any suggestion that those candidates for the episcopate must be ordained by three bishops, who had themselves been episcopally consecrated, and all the inferior clergy re-ordained by bishops,—which would be necessary to satisfy the scruples of extremists to-day. This is the more remarkable when we remember that Archbishop Sharp, with whom the correspondence was conducted, was definitely a High Churchman.[1]

The circumstances of this extremely interesting correspondence between our Church and the Prussian Church must now be briefly described.

Frederick I, King of Prussia, was anxious to add to the solemnity and dignity of his coronation in 1700, and, at the same time, had in view a scheme to unite the Lutheran and Reformed Churches in his dominions. He therefore gave the title of "bishop" to two of his clergy: one a Lutheran, who soon died, and the other a member of the Reformed Church, Dr. Ursinus.

The King's scheme was to provide one form of public worship by authority, in the hope that it would form a basis of union.

[1] Abbey, "English Church and its Bishops," I, p. 104 and note 8.

Dr. Daniel Ernst Jablonski had weighty influence with the King. He was the King's chaplain and superintendent of the Protestant Church in Poland. This Moravian Church to which he belonged had been expelled from Bohemia on account of their religion, and had taken refuge in Poland.

The history of the Moravian Brethren is extremely interesting, but it is not necessary to go into it in any detail. They were an extreme section of Hussites who, dissatisfied with the two sections of Bohemian Protestants, formed themselves into a separate community in 1457-1458. At the synod of Lhota, 1467, they broke away entirely from the papacy and elected ministers of their own. They claimed to possess an episcopate as their bishop, Michael Bradacius, had been ordained (after the decisions of this synod) by Stephen, the Waldensian bishop.[1] But their early history appears to be very misty.

The Moravian Brethren came into direct relation with Archbishop Wake in 1715, when a very interesting correspondence ensued and a royal brief was granted, authorizing a collection to be made "for the relief and for the preserving of the Episcopal Churches in Great Poland and Polish Prussia"; but over this we will not delay.

Jablonski at one time had great prejudices against the English Church. Two visits to England, and Oxford, and some intercourse with our divines, made him review the position. He studied our liturgy and examined our standpoint, with the result that ever after he was a great admirer of our Church and system.

Ursinus was also in favour of moulding the liturgy to be drawn up on our model. Their influence on the

[1] J. E. Hutton, "Short History of the Moravian Church," pp. 27-8.

King of Prussia resulted in his ordering our liturgy to be translated into High Dutch at Frankfort-on-the-Oder. His intention was to introduce this form of worship into his own chapel and the cathedral church, leaving the other churches to follow suit at will. Ursinus was ordered to send copies of the translation to Queen Anne and the Archbishop of Canterbury. The Queen returned thanks for the gift, but the Archbishop (Tenison) sent no acknowledgment. It is to be hoped that he did not receive it. The King was offended at this off-hand treatment, and withdrew his support for the time being; but Ursinus and Jablonski continued their correspondence with the English divines.

Copies of another liturgy, drawn up by Jablonski in obedience to the King's directions, were sent to Baron Prinz, the President of the Council of Ecclesiastical Affairs, at Berlin on 25 June, 1710. A copy of this liturgy was translated into English in 1712, but in the meanwhile the King's interest had revived in the matter of establishing relations with the English Church. Archbishop Sharp, of York, was asked by Jablonski, in a letter which reached him via Bishop Smalridge, to assist in promoting a good understanding between the Prussian and English Churches. To which he replied on 14 October, 1710: "I do as heartily pray that God would crown his (the King's) endeavours with success and that he may live to see the good effect of his glorious designs in the happy union of the divided Protestants among you; and in the establishment of such a public worship of God as is most primitive, most pure, most decent, and most conducive to the advancement of God's glory and the edification of every soul that joins in it."[1]

[1] "Life of Archbishop Sharp," ed. 1825, p. 416.

Apparently the King was still ruffled at Tenison's treatment of his earlier overtures, but what amounted to an apology was conveyed to him by his minister, Bonet, who after conversation with Sharp and Smalridge wrote, that the Queen and clergy were much displeased with the cold reception the translation of the liturgy had met with in the first instance, and that "we ought to impute it to the character of the present Archbishop of Canterbury". He added that among the reasons why the English clergy welcomed the idea of union was that the "clergy here are for episcopacy and look upon it at least as of apostolical institution". In his reply Jablonski speaks very highly of bishops, but describes as a "Romish opinion" the idea that "Protestant orders without bishops are invalid." [1]

Liebnitz undertook to awaken the interest of the Electress of Hanover in the proposed scheme, but it languished for several reasons and ultimately collapsed on the death of the King of Prussia.

A full account of this interesting project is contained in "Life of Archbishop Sharp" (ed. 1825, pp. 403-49 and Appendices), and much of the original correspondence is to be found in "Relation des Mesures qui furent prisent dans les années 1711, 1712, 1713, pour introduire la Liturgie Anglicane dans le Royaume de Prusse et l'Électorat de Hanover," ed. 1767.

Another interesting correspondence was that engaged in by Archbishop Wake with the leaders of the Gallican Church in 1717 and the following years. A short but excellent account of it is given in Lupton's "Archbishop Wake and the Project of Union".[2] It falls somewhat

[1] Op. cit. App. II, p. 190.
[2] Also Abbey, op. cit. pp. 98-101.

beyond the scope of this treatise, because most of the relations between the two Churches occurred subsequent to the year 1718, which we have taken as the year which limits our inquiry; and secondly, because the Gallican Church is an episcopal Church in the strict sense of the word and therefore the correspondence is not *ad rem.*

But two remarks made by the Archbishop deserve notice. Speaking of the Foreign Reformed Churches, he said, "Although he wished they had a moderate episcopal government, yet he would welcome a closer union amongst all the reformed bodies at almost any price".[1] And though thankful that the lines had fallen for him in an episcopal Church yet, he declared, "I should be unwilling to affirm, that where the ministry is not episcopal there is no Church, nor any true administration of the Sacraments. And very many there are among us who are zealous for episcopacy, and yet dare not go so far as to annul the ordinances of God performed by any other ministry."[2]

[1] *ap.* Carter, "English Church in the Eighteenth Century," p. 113.

[2] Mosheim, "Ecclesiastical History," ed. 1848, p. 873, note 1.

CHAPTER XIV.

CONCLUSION.

It remains now to offer some concluding observations suggested by the inquiry which we have been engaged upon.

As a safeguard against misunderstanding, I may be permitted to express my own personal views upon the question of Church government. Episcopacy to my mind is not only the most ancient form of ecclesiastical polity and the most natural evolution of the germ contained in Holy Scripture, but, judged by the light of history, the best conceivable for discharging the mission of the Church.

But it is clear that this position is far from that which claims for episcopacy an exclusive Divine right.

To adopt the former view places one in an impregnable position—one from which a fearless appeal can be made to Scripture, history, and human experience; and it is just upon these three rocks that the maintainers of the latter theory come hopelessly to grief. As the tide of free inquiry flows on, they are more and more liable to be left in the back-water associated with untenable theories.

It seems to me quite vain to attempt to maintain the exclusive theory in the light of recent historical inquiry. The very fact that that theory finds no adequate support from unbiassed inquirers such as Lightfoot, Hort,

Hatch, Gwatkin, Harnack, and many others, by itself more than half condemns it. The further fact that Presbyterians, and others of unimpeachable sincerity, claim to find justification for their theories in Scripture and the history of the earliest Church, proves that both these authorities, at the best, have spoken in uncertain fashion; and it is just this uncertainty which finally disposes of the theory that any form of Church government has been established by an exclusive Divine right. It is an old argument, but none the less valuable, that if the will of God had decreed that a monarchical episcopate was to be the only certain channel of sacramental grace, some definite statement of the Divine purpose would be found. It seems plain, therefore, that the burden of proof lies upon the High Anglican, and the most friendly verdict that an impartial judge can pass upon the case as advocated by him is that of "not proven".

He can give nothing remotely resembling a definite command uttered either by our Lord or His Apostles; the Scriptural evidence is held in many quarters to support conclusions quite the reverse of his own.[1] He can find from the evidence of the first century very few traces of a monarchical episcopate and absolutely nothing definite. He relies largely upon the Epistles of Ignatius—epistles to Churches some of which almost certainly had no bishop at the time, and probably not for some time after. He is faced by the fact that down

[1] Indeed, in view of the fact that the Apostolic Church expected the immediate return of Christ, it is on the face of it extremely improbable that the idea of establishing a perpetual ministry would have suggested itself to it. It is an anachronism to imagine the Apostolic Church legislating for generations which they never realized would come into being.

to well into the fourth century the metropolitan see of Alexandria, on the fairest (one might even say the only fair) interpretation of the evidence, had a form of Church government more closely resembling Presbyterian than episcopal.

For my own part I must frankly confess that an honest consideration of these facts has produced a great change in my view. Having accepted, without inquiry, the common opinion as to the claim of episcopacy to be the one and only Divinely appointed system, it came as nothing less than a shock to find how rickety was the platform upon which that theory stood.

I still hold, and that most firmly, that episcopacy is the best possible system of Church government, and that severance from that system would be the most serious and deplorable breach with the past; that episcopal ministrations are the most regular, and most effective, and the best designed for the evangelization of the world. But there is a wide gulf between this and declaring all non-episcopal ministries unauthorized.

But unhappily many of the modern supporters of the theory of apostolic succession scarcely stop at this comparatively mild conclusion, although enough has been said in the previous pages to show that accredited divines who took quite high ground for episcopacy seldom went further than this. To-day we constantly hear non-episcopalian ministries described as "invalid," or at the best "precarious," whilst it was enough for even most of the High Anglicans of Caroline days to speak of them as "unlawful," or "irregular".[1]

Stated quite plainly, it is not too much to say that the narrow and exclusive theory of apostolic succession

[1] So far, at least, as the foreign Churches were concerned.

so commonly met with to-day is a new thing in the history of the English Church. It goes far beyond what High Churchmen of three hundred years ago held; it is flatly contrary to the teaching and practice of honoured High Anglicans like Andrewes and Cosin, and is calculated, more than anything else, to do terrible mischief to the cause of Christian unity.

Does it commend itself to sober reason and common experience, to say that non-episcopal ministries either abroad or at home are invalid or precarious? It may be taken that the purpose of the Christian ministry is to bring the believer into union with God through Christ. Can any reasonable observer maintain for a moment that it is open to question whether non-episcopal ministries accomplish this? Nay, further, can anyone seriously pretend that such ministries are one whit less effective in achieving this than episcopalian?

Again when the term "valid" is applied to the Sacraments what is the significance of the expression?

"Valid," I suppose, means strong and healthy. Our use of the word "invalid" suggests a person whose body is not completely and adequately discharging all its functions. So an "invalid Sacrament" is one which is so impaired as not to be capable of discharging its functions.

We ask what are the functions of a Sacrament? They are two in number: to unite the believer to Christ and to build him up in holiness of life and conduct. It is therefore clear that if a Sacrament answers to these two tests, its character as valid is vindicated.

The first test is purely subjective. Only by his personal experience can the Christian know whether he has gained access to Christ through the Sacrament he has taken part in. Did his heart burn within him?

Did he feel it was good for him to be there? Did he rise with the consciousness of sin forgiven and God's favour upon him? If so that ordinance has discharged that one vital function effectively.

The second test is objective. Has the partaking of that Sacrament made him stronger to resist evil? Does he grow in grace and power? Are his good deeds and his holy life manifest to the world at large? Although he is poles apart from the views expressed in these pages, and indeed strongly combats them with his learned pen, Bishop Gore of Oxford will answer these questions for us. "There have arisen Christian Churches with a noble and continuous record of spiritual excellence—exhibiting, both in individuals and corporately, manifest fruits of the Spirit alike in learning, in virtue, and in evangelical zeal. To deny God's presence with them, and His co-operation in their work and ministry, would seem to me to approach to blasphemy against the Holy Spirit. We cannot express in words too strong our assurance that God has been with them, and that we are meant to learn from their saints and teachers, and to sit at their feet as before those who possess God's Spirit".[1] These generous words are a final answer to the question.

Vindicated by these two tests how is it possible to support the contention for a moment that the Sacraments as administered by Nonconformists are "precarious," much less "invalid"? Only if we allow the mind to become so obsessed with preconceptions as to prejudice our sound judgment and blind us to the logic of plain facts. "Forasmuch then as God gave them the like gift as He did unto us, who believed on the Lord Jesus Christ; what was I, that I could withstand

[1] "Orders and Unity," p. 184.

God?"[1] St. Peter's question comes home with great force to us in this connexion.

To the mind which reverences antiquity, objections arise which it would be unfair to call mere prejudice. But antiquity affords a striking precedent for the recognition of an "irregular ministry" (though the word is scarcely the one that should be used to describe the Nonconformist ministries of to-day). The appearance of men with extraordinary gifts of the Holy Spirit was a feature of the early Church. Such gifts were regarded as a guarantee of a Divine call to use the gift and to minister. This "Charismatic" ministry was "irregular," and yet it was fully recognized and valued by the Church. In process of time it died out. "But it remains in the background as a possibility, which may emerge at any time into activity; and indeed in various forms it is constantly emerging."[2]

So to the lover of antiquity I would suggest that a non-episcopal and somewhat irregular ministry is not a new thing but a very old thing, for is it not a fair comment upon Bishop Wordsworth's words to suggest the probability that one of the most obvious of the "various forms" in which the Charismatic ministry has emerged, may be that of the non-episcopalian ministries of to-day?

Nothing will go further to advance the cause of Christian unity than this free and full recognition of the validity and authority of Nonconformist ministrations. It is the reluctance to do this which lies behind many of our differences; it is the refusal to do this which has provoked the animosity and bitterness, that have brought into being, and still are nourishing, the

[1] Acts xi. 17.

[2] Bishop Wordsworth, "Ministry of Grace," p. 149.

Disestablishment and Education Controversies. It cannot be too strongly stated that the day for patronizing the Dissenters is gone, never to return. Quite properly they would refuse to treat upon any other terms than those of equality and Christian brotherhood. Though we cannot for a moment excuse the cruel reprisals meditated against the Church in some quarters, yet a little reflection will convince us that the constant irritation of mind produced by the coldness and indifference of many of our clergy, and the even more offensive patronage of others,[1] would at last promote measures of revenge which would have been at once scouted, had they ever occurred to those minds in their normal state.

It is strange that though there appears to have been development in every other direction during the past three hundred years, yet toleration and Christian charity have shown no adequate growth. Let us abandon the profitless and impossible task of attempting to establish the exclusive right of episcopally ordained men to administer the Sacraments, and frankly acknowledge the authority of the non-episcopalians.

Again, is there no further step which might be taken at the least to clear ourselves of the guilt of perpetuating the divisions of Christendom? Personally, I regard the suggestion of pulpit-exchange as an unwise one. It would be premature at the present time. But there is clearly another step for which there is ample historical precedent; I mean, the free and full admission of

[1] Cf. e.g. such a remark as the following: "If indeed we have 'unchurched' the Protestant bodies considered collectively, we have done so only to recognize the broadness of the Spirit's action; to recognize that those who are not of the Church's body may yet, by God's supra-covenanted grace, be of its soul". (Firminger, "Attitude of the Church of England," p. 54.)

baptized and properly accredited Nonconformists to the Holy Communion in our Church. It is unnecessary again to go over ground which has already been travelled, but such a recognition of their interest in the Church of the land could not fail to be attractive to the best spirits among the non-episcopal Churches; and would call into being an affection, which would be an invaluable asset, when the evil days come, and the enemy seeks to "break down the carved work thereof with axes and hammers". But I would take higher ground still in making this plea. Communion is the mark of Christian fellowship. The only grounds upon which we can refuse the Sacrament to Nonconformists are either because they cannot be regarded as Christians, or else because a narrow and unscriptural view of the Catholic Church prejudices sounder judgment. In the true Catholic Church a baptized believer should be welcomed; and it was this feature of our Church which at, and in the time immediately following, the Reformation called forth praise from the whole civilized world—its largeness of spirit, its welcome to Christians from other communions and other lands. Now in our time there is a disposition to go back on all this. It cannot be too strongly insisted that such an attitude is mischievous in the extreme. There are many who insist that before Dissenters can be admitted to the Sacraments they must sever themselves from their old spiritual home and practically repudiate their previous religious history. Such an attitude is unchristian, unhistorical, and unscriptural, and will raise an effective barrier to all hope of that better understanding, which is an essential antecedent to Christian reunion.

But with the establishment of the two principles for which I am here contending the approach to the question

of unity is made much easier. Let there be a frank recognition of the validity of the Nonconformist ministries and a cordial acknowledgment of their equality with us; and let baptized members of the non-episcopal Churches receive from us, at least occasionally, a cordial welcome to the Table of the Lord. Men who pray together are not likely to "bite and devour one another"; and I can see here the termination to the bitterness which has provoked those burning jealousies, which are such a disgrace to the Christianity of England.

The time is not ripe for elaborate schemes of reunion: there are questions keeping us apart which admit of no easy solution at present. But when we recall the fact that there is a far wider divergence of thought between extreme schools of Churchmen than there is between the vast bulk of Churchmen and Dissenters, we may hopefully look forward to the day when there will be some sort of federation of the Churches of the Protestant world, a kind of extension of the already existing schools of thought within our own Church.

"I have done, and now I make no other account, but that it will fall out with me, as it doth commonly with him that offers to part a fray, both parts will perhaps drive at me for wishing them no worse than peace." [1]

[1] Stillingfleet, "Ironicum," conclusion of preface.

INDEX.

Aarau, 62.
Abbott, Archbishop, 104.
Act, 13 Eliz., 72 f., 80, 82.
"Admonition to Parliament," 90 ff.
Adrian VI, 5.
Aldrich, Dr., 230.
Alexander, Peter, 45.
Alexandria, Church of, 243.
Anabaptists, 58, 86.
Andrewes, Bishop, 122, 172, 244.
Anglesey, Earl of, 158.
Anne, Queen, 238.
"Answer to Admonition," 96.
Articles, The XIII, 40 f.
— The XXXIX, 39 f.
Ash, 159.
Augsburg Confession, 13, 23, 40.
Augustinian Friars, Church of, 50 f.
Aylmer, Bishop, 29.

Bacon, Lord F., 112.
Bagshawe, 140.
Baillie, 144.
Bancroft, Archbishop, 97 ff., 109 ff., 172 f.
Basire, Isaac, 124 f.
Basle, 62 f.
Bates, 220.
Baxter, Richard, 150, 153 ff., 220.
Becon, 20, 22.
Belgic Confession, 24.
Benson, Archbishop, 214.
Beveridge, Bishop, 163, 228.
Beza, 63, 94.
Bramhall, Archbishop, 183 ff., 235.
Brevint, 125.
Bridges, Bishop, 102.
Bridgman, 214.
Brownists, 86.
Bucer, 37, 45 f.
Buckingham, Duke of, 221.
Bullinger, 16, 38 f., 55, 88 f.
Burnet, Bishop, 73, 177 f., 208 f., 228 ff., 238.

Calamy, 159.
Calvin, 12 ff., 19 ff., 38 ff., 55.
Canons of 1604, 43, 111.
— — 1640, 43.
Canterbury, French Church at, 51.
Carleton, Bishop, 132.
Cartwright, Thos., 90.
Charismatic Ministry, 246.
Charles I, 110, 135, 141, 173.
Charles II, 149, 158, 175, 182.
Charles V, 44.
Clarendon, Earl of, 74, 189, 221.
Colet, 6.
Collier, Jeremy, 133.
Compton, Bishop, 228, 230 f.
Concordat of Leith, 170.
"Confession of Faith," Scots, 164.
Confirmation, 180, 185, 192, 199, 210 ff.
Cooper, Bishop, 93, 101 f.
Corporation Act, 156, 188.
Cosin, Bishop, 17, 122 ff., 244.
Covel, Dr., 223.
Coverdale, Bishop, 68.
Cox, Bishop, 67 f.

Cranmer, Archbishop, 7, 13, 17, 20, 37, 44 f., 47 ff., 54 f.
Creighton, Bishop, 214.
Croft, Bishop, 161 f.
Cromwell, 182.
Curio, 21.

Davenant, Bishop, 132.
"Defence of 'the Answer,'" 96.
De Laune, Dr., 75.
Democracy, 105.
Denmark, 13.
Denny, Rev. E., 83.
Dering, Sir E., 142.
D'Ewes, 137.
Digby, Lord, 138.
Diggle, Bishop, 212.
"Discipline," Scots "Book of," 165 ff.
— Travers, 80, 90.
Disestablishment, 247.

Education Controversy, 247.
Edward VI, 34,
Elizabeth, 51, 56, 58, 69, 181.
Emden, 62 ff.
Erasmus, 6.
Erastianism, 7, 26, 29, 92, 105 f., 134, 164, 187.

Fagius, Paulus, 45 f.
Fairfowl, Bishop, 176.
Falkland, Lord, 139.
Fenner, 85.
Fiennes, Sir N., 139.
Fleetwood, Bishop, 74.
Fox, John, 48, 64, 68.
France, 9, 45.
Frankfort, 62, 66.
Frederick I, 236 ff.

Gardiner, Bishop, 62.
Geneva, 10, 62 f., 68, 88.
Germany, 14.
Gilbey, Anthony, 68.
Glasgow Assembly, 174.
Glastonbury, Foreign Church at, 51.
Gloucester, Bishop of, 32 f.
Goodman, Christopher, 68.
Gore, Bishop, 245.
Grimston, Harbottle, 118, 140.
Grindal, Archbishop, 48, 58 f., 63, 74, 82, 88 f., 195.
Grove, Bishop, 228.
Gualter, 44, 88 f.
Gunning, Bishop, 153 f.
Gwatkin, Prof., 242.

Haddon, 66.
Hale, Chief Justice, 219.
Hall, Bishop J., 30, 72 n., 78, 127 f., 132 f., 145, 198, 235.
Hamilton, Bishop, 172.
Hampden, John, 141.
Hampton Court Conference, 86, 101, 107 ff.
Hamstead, Hadrian, 59.
Harnack, Prof., 241.
Hatch, Dr., 242.
Henry VIII, 6, 181.
Hermann, "Consultation" of, 37.
Hesse, 14.
Heylin, Dr., 36, 58, 173.
Hickes, Dean, 232.
Holland, 13.
Hollis, Lord, 158.
Hooker, 17, 73, 79, 90 ff., 104.
Hooper, Bishop, 6, 53.
Horn, Bishop, 88 f.
Hort, Dr., 168, 241.
Howe, John, 221.
Huguenots, 10.
Hutton, 77.

Ignatius, Epistles of, 242.
"Irenicum," The, 217 ff.
Irish Prayer Book, 181.
Italy, 9.

Jablonski, 235 ff.
James I, 106 ff., 132, 172.
Jane, Dr., 230.
Jewel, Bishop, 9, 17, 63, 89.

Keble, John, 73, 169.
Knox, John, 15, 21, 64 ff., 76 f., 164 ff.

Lamb, Bishop, 172.
Lasco, John a, 38, 45, 50 ff.
Laud, Archbishop, 49 f., 116 ff., 145, 173 f.
"Laying-on of hands," 167 f.
Le Couteur, 125 f.
Leighton, Archbishop, 175 ff.
Leo X, 4.
Lever, 66.
Leverous, Bishop, 181.
Liebnitz, 239.
Lightfoot, Bishop, 242.
Lloyd, Bishop, 221, 225.
"Long" Parliament, 135 ff.
Luther, 10, 11, 14, 37 f., 40.
Lutherans, 61 ff.

Makower, Prof., 42.
Manchester, Duke of, 153, 158.
Manton, 220.
Marburg, 12.
Marprelate Tracts, 97.
Martyr, Peter, 16, 37, 45, 89.
Mary, Queen, 55.
Mason, Francis, 103.
Melanchthon, 37, 40, 54, 61.
Mew, Bishop, 230.
Milton, John, 182.
Moderate Churchmen, 193 ff.
Moderate Episcopacy, 115 ff.
Moore, Bishop, 225.
Moravian Brethren, 237 f.
More, Sir T., 6.
Morley, Bishop, 124.
Morrison, John, 74.
Morton, Bishop, 145.
Mühlberg, Battle of, 44.
Munro, Major-General, 182.

Naturalization Bill, 191.
Nonjurors, 231 ff.
Norway, 13.
Norwich, 57.

Occasional Conformity, 189, 206 ff.
Ochino, Bernardino, 45 f.
O'Neill Rebellion, 182.
Oratory of Divine Love, 5.
Ordination, Conditional, 88, 219, 229, 233.
Overall, Bishop, 75.

Parker, Archbishop, 28, 48, 56, 82, 89.
Parkhurst, Bishop, 57 f.
Patrick, Bishop, 208, 225, 228 f.
Paul IV, 5.
Petition, Londoners', 136.
— Millenary, 107 f.
— Ministers', 136.
Philpot, Archdeacon, 19.
Pilkington, Bishop, 18, 20, 65.
Pleydell, 136.
Pollanus, Valerandus, 52, 66.
Poynet, Bishop, 63.
Prelacy, 114.
Presbyterian Orders, 71 ff.
— System, 166 ff.
Priesthood, 92 f.
Pulpit Exchange, 247.
Puritanism, 113 f.

"Reduction," Usher's, 146 ff., 151, 177 f., 198.
Reignolds, 98 f., 109.
Reynolds, Bishop, 159, 219.
Ridley, Bishop, 22, 53.
Rogers, Thos., 98.
Rudyard, Sir B., 137.

Sacheverell, Dr., 225.
Sacramental Views, 10 ff.
St. Anthony's Hospital, 51, 58.
St. Bartholomew's Day, 155.
Sancroft, Archbishop, 162 f., 222 ff., 238.
Sandys, Archbishop, 63, 67 f., 76 f.
Savoy Conference, 86, 149 ff., 211.
Schism, 129 ff., 200 ff.

Scory, Bishop, 62, 66.
Scots "Confession of Faith," 21, 23, 164.
Settle, Thos., 85.
Sharp, Archbishop, 191, 209, 225, 228, 236 ff.
Sheldon, Archbishop, 152 f., 176, 190.
Sherlock, 199 f.
Smalridge, Bishop, 238.
Socinians, 58.
"Solemn League and Covenant," 144.
Somerset, Duke of, 51.
Spain, 9.
Spottiswood, Archbishop, 172.
Sprat, Bishop, 230.
Stillingfleet, Bishop, 159, 217, 219, 222, 228 f.
Strasburg, 62 f.
Strasburg Liturgy, 38.
Sweden, 13.

Tait, Archbishop, 214.
Taylor, Bishop J., 30, 126 f., 183 ff., 205.
Tenison, Archbishop, 204, 228, 238.
Test Act, 156, 188.
Thoresby, Ralph, 234.
Tillotson, Archbishop, 219, 225 ff.
Travers, Walter, 78 ff., 90.
Trent, Council of, 5.
Trinity College, Dublin, 81.
Toleration Act, 207.
"Tulchan" Bishops, 171.

Ulmis, John ab, 16.
Uniformity, Act of, 73 f., 153, 155 ff.
Ursinus, 236 ff.
Usher, Archbishop, 145 ff., 159, 198.
Utenhovius, 58.

Valid Sacraments, 244.
Velsius, Justus, 60.

Wake, Archbishop, 225, 237, 239 ff.
Ward, Bishop, 220.
Ward, Samuel, 132.
Welsh, Bishop, 181.
Wesel, 61.
Westminster Assembly, 143.
— Confession, 164.
Whitgift, Archbishop, 78 ff., 84 f., 89 f., 93 ff.
Whittingham, Wm., 63, 66 ff., 76 ff.
Wilkins, Bishop, 219 f.
William III., 227, 230 f.
Williams, Bishop, 144 ff.
Wishart, Bishop, 180.
Wordsworth, Bishop J., 246.
Würtemberg, Confession of, 40.
— Duke of, 62.

Young, Archbishop, 62.

Zurich, 62 f., 88.
Zwingli, 11 f., 14 ff.

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